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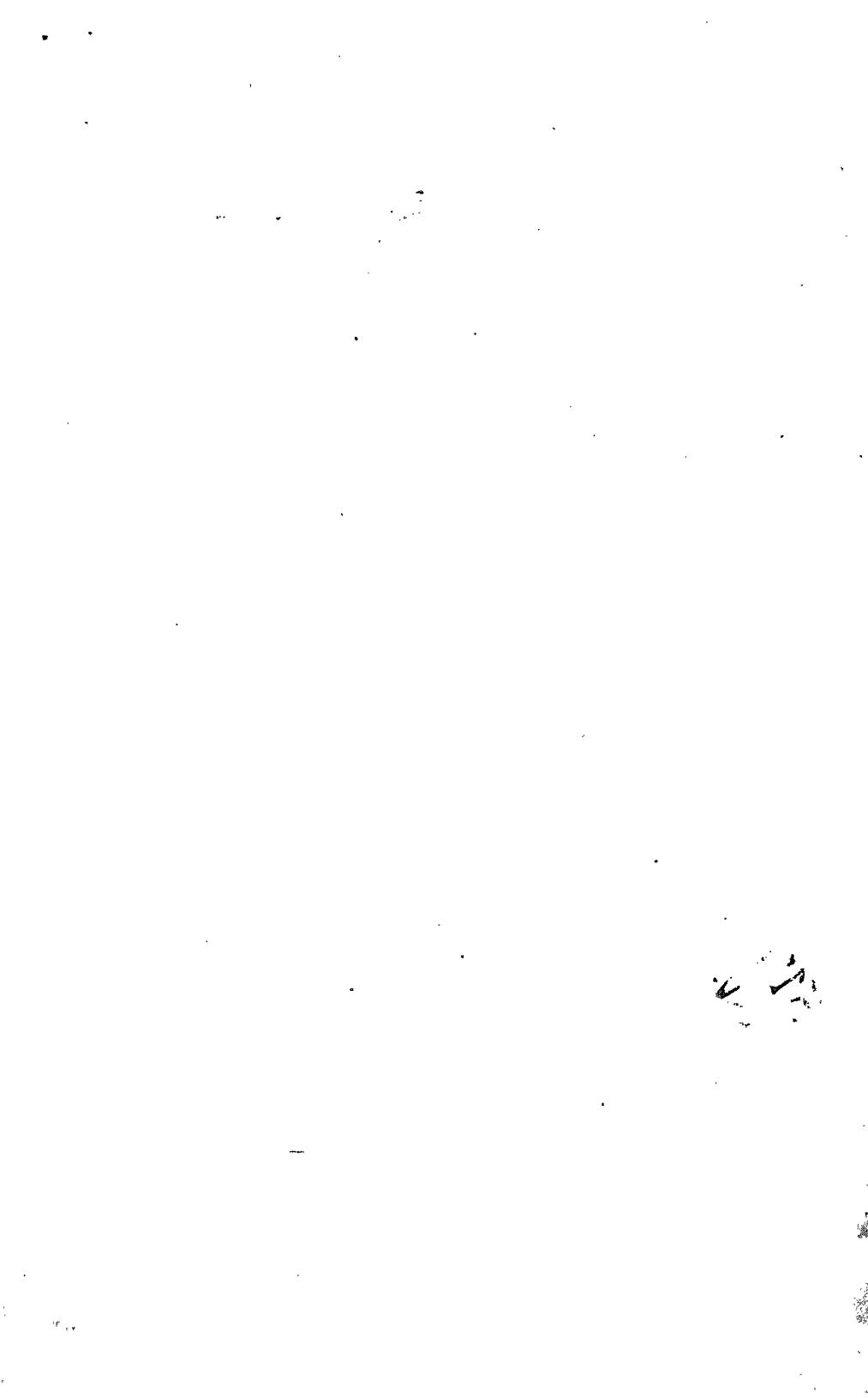
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THE ORIGIN OF THE JAPANESE RACE

BY THE REV. I. DOOMAN.

20632
[Read March 17th, 1897.]

From the very dawn of history to the present day two distinct races of humankind have inhabited this beautiful Japanese Archipelago. One of these two races is a most happy and harmonious combination of all the antinomies and contrarieties in human nature: at the same time active and passive, highly intellectual and childish, ideally clean, but doing things that are opposite to cleanness, markedly proud and senselessly obsequious, forbearing and vindictive, kind-hearted and betraying, rational and emotional, extremely sceptical and intensely superstitious, the masters of the sublime and base.¹ A nation which has been an insoluble enigma both to the psychologist and ethnologist. A people to see whom is to love them. A race which has in an infinitesimally short duration of time beaten and subdued its own former masters! At the beginning of its history got all its rudiments of civilization from Corea, but in a very short time we find it the supreme master of the Hermit Land! In the Middle Ages received its religion, art and all the forms of highest culture from China, but very soon we see outstripping and beating the intellectual Celestial both

¹ See M. Taine on Shakespeare, A History of English Literature.

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in the arts and in war, and it is still beating him, and will beat him, with all probability, till the end of this world! A nation which for not quite a quarter of a century has seriously turned its attention towards Western thought and civilization, and in that short space of time has almost completely mastered all the complicated machinery of European life and existence, and is gradually becoming the terror of the Aryan race—if not in war and arms at least in commerce—as it has been for ages that of the neighbouring countries! A nation that after the lapse of more than two milleniums of independent national existence and unsullied self-identity, still possesses as much racial vitality and individual identity and energy as when Izanagi thrust his javelin into the foaming waters of the great ocean, and out of the curdling moisture created the ever-glorious Dai-Nippon! A nation which because of its universal genius² is destined to become one of, if not the greatest factor, humanity has produced for its self-elevation and ennoblement.

Whilst the other race we find a standing refutation and confutation of the doctrine of Evolution as applied to the development and progress of the human species. Strong in body, weak in mind! Unprogressive though possessing almost all the advantages and opportunities of the master race. A people speedily disappearing although without any apparent cause or reason. A race about whom a savant whose statements and criticisms about everything are always tempered with sobriety and moderation, has said the most harsh things ever said against a human community:—

“By some European travellers this *japanization* of the “present generation (of the Aino race) and the probable

² We are often told that Japanese genius is merely imitative, and lacks depth and originality. In my opinion 99 per cent. of originality is nothing but imitative adaptability!

"speedy extinction of the race, are mourned over. The
 "present writer cannot share these regrets. The Ainos had
 "better opportunities than fell to the lot of many other races.
 "They were sturdier physically than their Japanese neigh-
 "bours. From those neighbours they might have learned
 "the arts of civilization. As a matter of fact, such scraps
 "of civilization as they now possess, are of Japanese origin.
 "They eat with Japanese chopsticks, they offer Japanese
 "rice-beer to their gods, they do their cutting and chopping
 "with blades bought from the Japanese, they shoot with Japa-
 "nese guns, ride Japanese horses, dress partly in Japanese
 "stuffs. But so little have they profited by the opportunities
 "given to them during the last thousand or two thousand
 "years, that there is no longer room for them in the world.
 "The son of the greatest living Aino chief is glad to brush
 "the boots of an American family in Sapporo. The Aino
 "race, is now no more than a "curio" to the philologist
 "and to the ethnologist. It has no future, because it has
 "no root in the past. The impression left on the mind
 "after a sojourn among the Ainos is that of a profound
 "melancholy. The existence of this race has been as aim-
 "less, as fruitless, as is the perpetual dashing of the breakers
 "on the shore of Horobetsu. It leaves behind it nothing
 "save a few names."³

But these two races so diametrically opposite each
 other in every human faculty, possess such striking facial
 and philological resemblances that many of the western
 scientists and scholars who have devoted to the subject
 prolonged study and years of diligent examination, over-
 looking or totally ignoring all this immense mental dis-
 parity, have reached the conclusion that they both not only
 belong to the same stock of the human family although
 ramified in remote ages into several distinct branches, and
 each in course of time becoming an independent and repre-

³ Chamberlain.

sentative race, but that both the Ainos and Japanese are very near branches of the same tree. Such a patient and keen scientist as Dr. Rein, for example, summing up with approbation the conclusions of Doenitz and Hingeldorf and Schenke says: "the Ainos are Mongolians who differ less, perhaps, from the Japanese than the Germans from the Roumanians. Though the straight eyes, and firm features, and above all the strong growth of the beard among the men, lends them a certain likeness to Europeans, this is only apparent, and disappears on a nearer examination."⁴

The present-day Roumanian is, perhaps, the most mixed race in Europe. Originally coming from the Latin stock, being the remnant of the Roman colonies in the east of Europe, he has allied himself by religion and inter-marriage with the Slavonic Greek and other races Oriental and Occidental, and it will be, for this reason, quite difficult to make any ethnological comparison between them and the Germans. But if we take Dr. Rein's statement as tantamount to the assertion that there is closer racial kinship and affinity between the Ainos and Japanese, than between the Germans and any one of the many branches of the Latin or Slavonic races, then we totally disagree with him. I think there is far closer relationship and more resemblance, mental, physical and philological, between any branch of the Aryan and Semitic races, take the Syrian and French, the Jew and German, than between the Ainos and Japanese. Indeed mental and physical resemblances of these two great historic races of mankind are so striking that no one can deny them. Their differences are mainly linguistic. Notwithstanding this the ethnological line between them to-day is so sharply drawn that finally we have been accustomed to ascribe fixed characteristics, psychological and physiognomical, to each

⁴ Dr. Rein on Japan.

one of them separately. The late brilliant M. Renan, for example, following the German scholar Lassen, says :

“La conscience Sémitique est claire, mais peu étendue ;
 “elle comprend merveilleusement l’unité, elle ne sait pas
 “atteindre la multiplicité. Le Monothéisme en résume et en
 “explique tous les caractères. Elle n’a ni cette hauteur de
 “spiritualisme que l’Inde et la Germanie seules ont connue,
 “ni ce sentiment de la mesure et de la parfaite beauté que
 “la Grèce a légué aux nations néo-Latines, ni cette sensi-
 “bilité délicate et profonde qui est le trait dominant des
 “peuples celtiques. C’est la gloire de la race Sémitique
 “d’avoir atteint dès ses premiers jours, la nation de la divinité
 “que tous les autres peuples devaient adapter à son exemple
 “et sur la foi de sa prédicateur. Cette race n’a jamais
 “conçu le gouvernement de l’univers que comme une
 “monarchie absolue ; sa théodicée n’a pas fait un pas depuis
 “le livre de Job ; les grandeurs et les aberrations du poly-
 “théisme lui sont toujours restées étrangères.”

Here we are not concerned with the origin and development of the Hebrew Monotheism. Renan’s historical and psychological aberrations are too many and too well known to need contravention. But when he says “La Conscience Sémitique comprend merveilleusement l’unité,⁵ elle ne sait pas atteindre la multiplicité. Le Monothéisme en résume et en explique tous les caractères,” then, I would say that, this Le Monothéisme Semitique n’explique pas un seul caractère. In studying the Semitic character, whether in the Hebrew Scriptures, which undoubtedly are the best mirror of the development and growth of the whole Semitic race in general, and of the Jewish nation in particular, or in the pre-Mahomedan Arab poetry come down to us, or in the fragments of the Assyrian art recently excavated : and still more plainly in the subsequent coming in contact of its different branches with the Greek thought

⁵ Histoire des Langues Sémitiques, P. 5.

and philosophy, we find it instead of grasping "*merveilleusement l'unité*," feebly attaining to generalities when the unities formerly remained undefined and in an extremely crude state. It was this constant grasping after the undigested multiplicities and hazy generalities that prevented the Semitic from refining the individual object, as we see it carried into the highest consummation in everything Greek.

When I come to discuss the gradual growth and the upward ascent of Art from the Semitic to the Aryan nations of Europe, and its influence upon the Eastern Asiatic countries, I am hoping to prove that this absence of refinement from the Semitic art and poetry emanated chiefly, if not solely, from the lack of comprehension of the real unity, hence the correct individuality of each separate object. In this case the Semitic stands just the opposite of the Mongolian. If Renan had said "*La conscience Mongolienne comprend merveilleusement l'unité*," I would perfectly agree with him. What are the poems of the Shih King, of the Manyoshu, of the Kagingshoo but the marvelous grasp of the unity: a lily, a plum branch, a single flower, and a single domestic or social idea and its portrayal in the most happy and refined manner imaginable!

" Claimed for our Sovereign's use,
 Blossoms I've loved so long
 Can I in duty fail?
 But for the Nightingale,
 Seeking her home of song,
 How shall I find excuse? "

Again :

" The crystal dew at evening's hour,
 Sleeps on the yugoo's (evening glory)
 beautiful flower."

But can this be said of the Semitic poetry which with a Miltonic grandeur of conception compresses the whole cosmos into a single stanza? I hope to treat this subject more fully in the future. Let us come now to the main point of our theme.

If we make the affirmation that "there is more resemblance, and closer kinship between the Semitic and Aryan races, than between the Japanese and Ainos," then the question arises: 'To what stock of the human race do they respectively belong?'

The study of ethnology, and the tracing of each nation, family, and race to its primeval origin requires a wider and vaster field of observation and investigation than any single country whatever be the extent of its dimensions, or the variety of the races inhabiting within its boundaries.

Let us now take the Eastern Hemisphere, half of our terrestrial globe, leaving the other half, at present, alone.

In the Eastern Hemisphere also, let us for the present exclude the Negritic races whose prominent features are too well known, inhabiting mostly Central Africa. Let us put aside the Aryan and Semitic races, whose over-defined positions, and relations to each other we all know very well.

There still remain some races, or rather nations, dwelling in parts of Europe, in Asia, and in the Southern Islands, which in the main characteristics which distinguish races from each other, say the Aryan from Semitic, differ from each other. We have still left the Huns dwelling in Europe, the Turks, Tartars, Tibetians, Mongols, Chinese, Coreans, Japanese and their compatriots the Ainos, Loochooans, Malayans, Formosans, the tribes inhabiting the islands near to the Continent of Asia, and finally, we have still left 18,000,000 of the aborigines of India, who for the last two milleniums have been greatly amalgamated with the conquering Aryan and other races perpetually flowing into the rich Peninsula. Are we permit-

ted to group into one family the nations in every stage of civilization, from the lowest up to the highest—compare, for example, the Chinese with the Formosan aborigines, and the Japanese with the Ainos—simply because their lips are thick, their noses flat, and the languages spoken by them belong all to that undefined and diffuse philological nomenclature known as agglutinative languages? Or shall we take a deeper cognizance of the great disparity of characteristics displayed amongst them?

The question is not an easy one to answer off-hand!

If we look with care into the history of the growth and migrations of the remaining nations about which we have been speaking, it is very easy, in my opinion, to recognize readily two distinct geographical centres of agitation and upheaval; one lying south of the great Himalayan chain, the other in the vast regions north of them. Let us now investigate and compare a little the chief habits and main characteristics of the nations dispersed out of the above-mentioned two centres. We find that the people which have come out of the Northern Centre mostly, nay almost all, endowed with great intellectual powers, and possessing a mental calibre though in quality differing greatly from that of the other two civilized families of humankind—Semitic and Aryan—in quantity equal to them. Consider the case of the Huns, the Turks, the Central Asian Tartars and their great empire and civilization, Tibetans, Mongols, Chinese, Japanese and Koreans who were the first introducers of the continental culture and religion into Japan. While those of the South Himalayan Centre whenever they have moved, even to the present day, we find them in the same primeval and semi-savage state as the early Aryan found them milleniums ago. Consider the stationary condition of the present-day aborigines of India itself.

The two centres of these two divisions of mankind—call them both Mongolian if you please—in my opinion

geographically and racially are just as distinct from each other, if not more, than the two centres of the Aryan and Semitic races : that is, the Iranian Plateau for the former, and the Mesopotamian Plains for the latter.

We have arrived now at the point to usher in our theory: namely, the Ainos, that is, the first inhabitants of these Islands, belong to the South-Himalayan Centre: while the Japanese, the second comers, belong to the North-Himalayan, commonly called Altaic races.

Let us now bring our proofs and evidences for the substantiation of this theory.

1. Physically the Aino belongs to a robust and stalwart race. In this point he is stronger than his master. He is hairy, thick and stronger than the people of that portion of the North-Himalayan Centre migrated to the extreme East: the Corean, the Mongol and the Loochooan. About that portion of the North-Himalayan race migrated toward the West we shall speak later on. The physical resemblance between the ancient Indian aborigines as depicted in the Vedic poems: "flat-nosed," "dark-skinned," and "short-bodied," and the Ainos, is very striking.

2. As already repeatedly mentioned, the Ainos⁶ have never been able, despite their close connection and intercourse with the Japanese, to raise themselves to a higher plane of mental conception. They have always remained in the same rudimentary stage of semi-barbarism as we find to-day the Indian aborigines residing in the most inaccessible mountain regions. Even to-day these latter have not much improved from the day when they were for the first time found and described by the aggressive Aryan as *Dasyus* "enemies," *Dasas* "slaves," "grass

⁶ The first Japanese Settlers called the Ainos "Ebisu," or simply "Bisu," as Mr. Chamberlain suggests; a word of obscure origin.

feeders on raw meat," "lawless," "not sacrificing," "without gods," "without rites," "monsters," "demons," and many other similar unpleasant epithets. The most general name given to these aborigines by their Aryan conquerors was *dasas*, "slaves," from the Sanskrit word *dasa* दास "a rope," hence "to bind," hence *dasas* were "bondmen" intellectually and physically. Has not the word *dasas* a certain grim applicability to the Ainos also? While the Japanese from the very beginning of their history and appearance in these Islands, were advanced, as we shall see later on, in all those fundamental ideas of culture and civilization—family life, religion, and an intense love for everything beautiful—without which no nation can build the everlasting fabric of its existence.

To what then, shall we ascribe this infinite mental inferiority of the Ainos to Japanese, an inferiority nowhere seen glowing with such convincing light and force whenever two nations of the same race have lived in the same country as master and subject? No one will dispute for a moment the immense superiority of the conquering English to the conquered Hindoo; yet with a mere smack of education the Hindoo is gradually coming out to compete in many of the sciences—medicine, law and others—with his aggressive and brilliant master, and very often the final victory is on his side. But who can see any rays of hope that ever the Aino before his final disappearance will be able to master even the lowest rudiments of the nineteenth century complicated existence? Are we to ignore utterly this impassable chasm? To me this infinite intellectual disparity of the Ainos and Japanese presents far greater difficulties to the ethnologist, than the inequality, physical, mental and philological, existing between the Aryan and Semitic races. The deeper I study them the wider the chasm separating the Japanese from the Aino becomes. The Aryan and Semitic, as we have seen already, manifest the same mental qualities with very little diversity, that also.

notwithstanding M. Renan's contrary observations. From immemorial ages occupying conterminous lands, and repeatedly coming into close intercourse with each other, they have manifested the same aptitude for the grasp of everything elevating and ennobling to human nature. For ages they have been under the influence of the same religion, philosophy and literature. The Greek thought and philosophy was saved from falling into desuetude and final oblivion first by the Syrian Christians, then by the Mahommedan Arabs. The Neo-Platonism of the Alexandrian Jews is a too well known historical fact to need any further illustration. Simply to mention the name of Christianity is enough to show the great religious influence of the Semitic nations over the Aryan.

Can we witness such a phenomenon between the Aryan and the aboriginal tribes of India which have been living together in the great Peninsula for many thousands of years? None whatsoever! Simply because we cannot find any mental affinity and kinship between them, hence no intellectual reciprocity, and no commerce of ideas. The case between the Ainos and Japanese does not stand in a less prominent foreground!

3. Many points of radical dissimilarity between the Aino and Japanese languages. Mr. Chamberlain⁷ with his customary painstaking, cautious and minute way has carefully compared the two languages and found fifteen points of dissimilarity—many of them very radical! Indeed a very large number for two such Archaic languages. Perhaps the greatest one is number three, or what Prof. Chamberlain calls "Formative Prefixes." "Thus the passive," the Professor says, "is obtained by prefixing *a* to the active, as *raige* "to kill," *a-raige* "to be killed." A transitive or verbalizing force is conveyed by the prefix *e*,

⁷ The Language, &c. of Japan Viewed in the Light of Aino Studies.

as *pirika* "good," *e-pirik* "to be good to," i.e. generally "to benefit oneself." *Mik* "to bark," *e-mik* "to bark at," *a-e-mik* "to be barked at." The signification of verbs is sometimes intensified by means of the prefix *i*, as *nu* "to hear," *i-nu* "to listen." All this is completely foreign to the Japanese grammatical system, which denotes grammatical relations by means of suffixes exclusively." Another point, number 14, we shall consider later on.

To Mr. Chamberlain's "Fifteen Points" I will add another: namely, the letter changes⁸ of the Aino language resemble, for their wealth and multitude, the Dravidian languages of India, more than the Japanese, or indeed, any other of the North-Himalayan, or Altaic languages, which have not been affected by an alien and wealthier language, either Semitic or Aryan. On this point, and on the relationship of the Aino to the early languages of India, at present I am not ready to speak with any semblance of authority.

Mr. Chamberlain after enumerating his "Fifteen Points of Dissimilarity" between the two languages comes to the conclusion that: "taking all the known facts into consideration, and pending that thorough investigation of the minor Asiatic languages, which circumstances render so difficult, the present writer is inclined to accept Van Schrenck's assertion that "Aino is to be regarded as a language altogether isolated at the present day." When it is remembered that the Aino race is isolated from all other living races by its hairiness and by the extraordinary flattening of the tibia and humerus, it is not strange to find the language isolated too." This assertion, however, does not satisfy the present writer more than the assertion that because the bovine and equine species of Japan

⁸ Vide Mr. J. Batchelor's, A Grammar of the Aino language.

possess some extraordinary physical differences from those of the Continent, therefore they must be considered as isolated species !

Considerable light, though reflected in an indirect way, to confirm the Indian origin of the Aino, comes out of the researches and examinations of the Japanese fauna by many able scientists, who unanimously agree that the Japanese snake is of Indian origin. Sir Charles Lyell commenting on this point says: "The geographical distribution of "reptiles agrees as a general rule with that of the "mammalia and birds, but a discrepancy has been pointed "out in the Palaearctic regions. Although the batrachians of Japan are all Palaearctic, the snakes agree in "genera and species with those of the more southern "parts of Asia or the Indian regions. Mr. Wallace "suggests the following explanation of this apparent "anomaly: he reminds us that Dr. Günther has shown "that snakes are a pre-eminently tropical group, decreasing rapidly in the temperate regions, and absolutely "ceasing at 62° N., whereas the batrachians are almost as "largely developed in northern as in tropical latitudes, being "able to support, partly by aid of hybernation, a very cold "climate. We may therefore suppose Japan to have once "formed a part of Northern Asia, with which it is even now "almost connected by two chains of islands; in which case "it might have received its birds, mammals and batrachians "from the Palaearctic region, whereas it could have derived "but few, or no snakes from the same quarter, since the "great cold extends to a much lower latitude in Eastern "Asia than in Western Europe. If at a subsequent period "Japan became connected with Southern Asia through the "Loo-Choo and Miyacoshima, it might then have been "colonized by snakes of Indian origin, which would "easily establish themselves in a region unoccupied by "any representatives of the same class. Batrachians, "on the contrary, as well as the birds and mammals.

"of Southern Asia would find a firmly established Palae-arctic population ready to resist the invasion of all intruders."⁹

This will bring us to the vast subject of the migratory and roaming instinct of the prehistoric man, upon which a few words here will not be inappropriate. It is an undoubted fact that man in his primitive state of nature was more migratory than in his well organized, highly developed, and civilized modern conditions of life. The pastoral age which was succeeded by the agricultural in the upheaval of sociological stratifications of humanity, did more for a right and even distribution of human species than any other. To this age we owe the dispersion of the Semitic nations to the North, and the population of Europe and India by the healthy and intellectual Aryan, and the expansion of the North-Himalayan race in North Asia. The many facilities for moving from place to place by one in a nomadic and pastoral life are so obvious that it would be superfluous to explain them here. With a fixed residence and sedentary habits of life this roaming instinct gradually disappears, and its place is given to the attachment and love for a certain fixed geographical locality, commonly called patriotism, which is the first outcome of the agricultural age. To a person devoted to a nomadic and wandering life that great word which encompasses so many sweet associations, and embosoms so many ennobling ideas, has neither force nor meaning. To the question "Which country do you like the best?" once asked by the present writer of a wandering Persian gypsy *Ba man hama doonya yik ast* "to me every country is the same," was the prompt reply. But even patriotism is liable to degeneration if not mixed up, to a certain degree, with the nomadic and adventurous spirit of the pastoral man. In the history

⁹ Principles of Geology, Vol. II. P. 343.

of Greece we have a good illustration of this point. As long as Hellas kept up its activity of ramification and colonization of Asia Minor and maritime Africa, so long its growth was assured, rapid and healthy ; but as soon as the love of luxury made the Greek intensely patriotic, or rather poliotic, (a lover of city)—if we are allowed to coin such a word—the gradual decay leading inevitably to the ultimate destruction set in. The case of Rome and the Roman Empire is not dissimilar to that of Greece.

The failure of the modern French as a colonizing nation is mainly attributed, by many French writers themselves, to this stay-at-home instinct, which is another title for intense patriotism and love of luxury for which the French are so famous. "As long," says a recent French writer who has travelled extensively, and studied the subject of the success of the English as a colonizing race, "as Frenchmen will be willing to earn from 1000 to 1500 francs a year as coachmen and stay in Paris, rather than go out into the French colonies and within a short period of time become landlords and men of influence in the community, so long it is impossible for the French Government to plant a successful colony. We acquire a new territory, and at once establish a system of government as perfect as anywhere in the world. But where are the citizens for this new country? We have to go and beg the English and Germans to come and settle in our new land !"

Another writer speaking on the "submerged" parts of the population of great cities like London and New York says : "these people will rather stay in a city and cleave unto its lampposts even if they starve, than go out into the country, inhale a pure air and earn a far better living." Is not the Japanese Aino and his fellow-traveller the Japanese suake a good example for such degenerates to follow?

We have reached now the second, and by far the most important part of our investigations: The North Himalayan Origin of the Present Japanese Race. To prove, or rather to strengthen this theory, I will bring the following points for our deep consideration, if not for our conviction.

1. *Psychological and Intellectual Resemblances.* Humanity does not, at least has not hitherto, produced great and civilized nations separately—if we exclude the infant Central American Civilization. All those nations which have acted any important part in the universal drama of human progress and advancement, have either belonged to Semitic or Aryan races. No nation alone without the assistance of others has suddenly risen spontaneously to a very high eminence and altitude. Greece often misleads us greatly in this matter. Whenever we speak about high civilization and culture, we are apt at once to turn our eyes towards ancient Greece, and there find about twenty five centuries ago everything: art, literature, social organization, philosophy, and what not? in its acme of grandeur, refinement and perfection. There we find the greatest tragic drama the world has ever witnessed—Hamlet—foreshadowed more than twenty two centuries ago by the sublime genius of Aeschylus.¹⁰ Hence we think Greece alone achieved all these wonders of genius and miracles of originality. Enveloped by rapture and admiration we try to find all the causes and sources of this transcendent phenomenon in the bosom of Greek soil itself,¹¹ and ignore the real fact, and forget to think that Greece was nothing but a refined Egypt, just as Egypt was a grander Assyria.

¹⁰ It is very surprising to me to see that none of the many Shakespearean commentators have tried to find in Aeschylus' three great tragic plays:—Agamemnon, Chaephereae and Furies—a real prototype to Hamlet. Even such a keen scholar as the late Dr. Ulrici tries to find a model for it in an obscure mediæval piece.

¹¹ See, for example, Taine on "Art in Greece."

We overlook the fact that ancient Greece inherited that hereditary genius which has never abandoned an Aryan community. The evolution of mental capacities of a nation takes more time than the evolution of their physiognomical features.

In India, as stated above, the original inhabitants were in the lowest grade of mental growth at the advent of the Aryan from North about two or three milleniums ago ; to-day unless amalgamated with the superior races, their condition has not much ameliorated. In the many successive social or religious revolutions through which that Peninsula has passed they have not played any prominent part. The history of India is just as much the history of the Aryan race as the history of these Archipelagos is the history of the Japanese and not of the Ainos.

Let us now turn to the North Himalaya race ; wherever it has colonized, conquered or settled we find a well organized community possessing all the healthy and normal requisities for the making of a great future nation : Consider, once more, from this point-of-view the Huns in Europe, Turks both in Europe and Asia, Tartars and their great empire in Central Asia, Tibetans, Mongols, and Chinese, Koreans, till we come to the most progressive of all, because the purest of all, the modern Japanese. And now that the Semitic as a civilizing factor is gradually disappearing, the North Himalayan is left alone to dispute the mastery of the world with the aggressive and adventurous Aryan.

This race—North Himalayan—possesses certain mental characteristics peculiar to itself, just as the other two great races have their own. They are energetic, active, sensitive, sensual, poetical, aggressive, quick ; but very soon discouraged, and lacking that immobility of purpose, and durability of patience which have made the Aryan great. It is this lack of stability in the North Himalayan temper, in my opinion, that has been the primal cause of the

downfall of the institutions established by the race, whenever assailed by a formidable enemy, whether external or internal. Let us as an illustration compare the Central Asian Tartar empire—the Kingdoms of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane—with its immediate neighbour, that of Persia. The former for several decades, if not centuries, equalled, nay far surpassed, in brilliancy and greatness the most prosperous epochs both present and past Mahommedan era of the latter; and the causes leading to its decay and downfall were not half as formidable as those which for centuries have been threatening the land of Cyrus. But while Persia many times has conquered its own victors, and to-day has a fair hope of immediate rejuvenescence, the Tartar empire, on the other hand, after a lingering desease of centuries has died and been buried in a grave from which there is no hope of resurrection. It is very curious, to mention *en passant*, that the present reigning dynasty of Persia—*Kajar*—is from a Persianized Tartar family.

To trace this characteristic, that is, the institutional instability, in all the other branches of the North Himalayan race, is not a very difficult undertaking. Let us come now to our second point.

2. *Many physical features of the North Himalayan greatly differ from those of the South.* In the South, as we have already noticed, the body is short but very stout and thick; while in the North it is tall but slender. These two features are very prominent in almost all those North Himalayan civilized nations and tribes which have expanded towards the extreme East: Mongols, Coreans, Chinese and Loo-Chooans. In Japanese the first feature, the height, has considerably decreased, while the second, slimmness, has been preserved intact. In regard to the shortness of Japanese we can find many physical theories to explain it in a satisfactory manner; the two principal of which in my opinion are, first, the mountainous character

of the country ; the Italian has suffered from this cause. He is gradually getting shorter than the other European nations. The second cause I attribute it to the intermarriage of the early continental settlers with the aborigines, not unlike to that of the first Spanish immigrants with the country people of the Incas. Those branches of the race which have migrated and expanded toward the West have lost their physiognomical self-identity, on account of their intermarriage with the Semitic and Aryan races, more than those of the East which have never freely intermixed with any other civilized race. The Tartar and Turk have changed more than the Korean or even Japanese. In this point the Turk in Europe has changed more than the Hungarian who has preceded him by many centuries, while in the structure of the language and grammar the Turkish has been affected less, as we shall see later on, by the Persian and Arabic, than the Hungarian by the European languages. This phenomenon, in all probability, is attributable to the polygamous license of the Mahommedan religion, the result of which is the impurity of Tartar and Turkish blood and the purity of that of the Hungarian.

We come now to our last and most important proof, namely :—

3. *The Language.* The Japanese language as we have seen above has many points of radical dissimilarity with the Aino, the language of the early settlers in these Islands ; but with those of the North Himalayan, generally called Altaic languages, has a very close kinship. Mr. Aston in a short essay has commented on the points of resemblance between the Korean and Japanese. It is my intention in the remaining pages to beg your attention to a few striking, I should say convincing, points of similarity between the Turkish and Japanese languages, both belonging to two of the extremes of the North Himalayan group of nations.

Before taking up this subject permit me to say a few words on the study of the so called agglutinative languages. A book on the comparative study of all agglutinative languages of the world, is a great desideratum.¹² The student of these languages is in a great need of a grammar like that of Bapp on the Aryan and that of Renan on the Semitic languages, each of which these two books, which are great trophies of philological studies, reflects very distinctly and clearly the genius representing these two gifted nations of the modern Europe. I am not unmindful of the vast and almost insurmountable difficulties attending such an undertaking. In the first place most of these agglutinative languages possess hardly any literature to arrest the patience of a student. We have often heard it repeated that there is nothing in Semitic languages to keep a scholar's attachment to them for a long time. How much more then the prolongation of attachment to agglutinative languages which hardly have produced any literature, will be still a harder job. If we exclude the Chinese—that riddle of the philologist and the anthropologist—the rest have hardly produced anything worth speaking of. The Turk has satisfied himself with the rich Persian poetic literature, in which language most of his best thoughts have been dressed. The Hungarian also has not, to any appreciable degree, enriched already rich European literature.

In the second place, many of the tribes and communities speaking agglutinative languages and dialects are still in a nomadic and wandering stage of existence; hardly possessing any written signs; hence the student who attempts to study them, must, perforce, create, so to speak, everything new for himself, not unsimilar to what Chamberlain and Batchelor have done for the Aino language.

¹² It is needless to say here that Dr. Edkins' "China's Place in Philology" does not answer this purpose.

The third difficulty is the formative stage through which all agglutinative languages are passing. Perhaps in no other family of languages can we see the upper ascent of the language from a monosyllabic—take the Chinese to an inflectional form—consider the Turkish and Hungarian—so clearly reflected as in the agglutinative languages of the North Himalayan civilized nations. Both Semitic and Aryan, or what are termed inflectional—but I should rather call them amalgamative instead of inflectional languages in contrast with agglutinative ones—possess a firmly fixed and well-developed grammatical skeleton which can never be altered whenever they come in contact or fall under the influence of an alien tongue. Take as an instance of illustration the influence of the Semitic Arabic over the Aryan Persian of the past-Mahommedan era. Open any book of modern Persian, and you will find almost fifty per cent. of the words are derived from the wealthy Arabic, whilst the fundamental grammatical principles remain immutably Aryan! The case of the Semitic languages coming under the dominance of an Aryan language is not different to any appreciable degree: they borrow vocabularies and thought, but the skeleton of the language is not affected in the least. This statement becomes very clear if we look to the influence exercised by the Greek thought and language upon the past-Christian Syriac; which elevated it for several centuries to the first rank of Semitic languages, and prepared the way to the transplantation of Greek philosophy at the advent of the Baghdadian Khalifate to the Arab nation. The language, however, all this while had remained pure Syriac, although the Syrian had become, in every respect, a Greek!

With agglutinative languages, however, the case is quite different. The poverty of thought and of vocabularies has soon led these people to a very keen cognizance of the poverty of the grammatical structure of their language. Hence whenever they have come under the dominance of

an amalgamative language, whether Semitic or Aryan, they have always tried to borrow or create a more developed grammar also. Take, for example, the case of the Hungarian languages. For ages Hungarian grammarians have done their utmost to introduce *en masse* Latin rules of grammar into their agglutinative language; and, indeed, they succeeded to such an extent that for centuries their language was grouped among Aryan languages. And the more such a nation advances in civilization, the stronger the crave for making new loans becomes. It is for this cause the Hungarian language is more Aryanized than the Turkish, although the Turk himself has more amalgamated with the Semitic and Aryan races of the lands which he has conquered. Turkish language which has come under the complete domination of the combined influence of the Arabic and Persian is purer than the Hungarian. However, even in the Turkish language we can easily perceive two distinct steps of the upward ascent. The more or less civilized Turk, or what is generally called Osmanli, has a more developed grammar, and refined language, than the Tartar, or Central Asian, Turk. The Tartar Turkish has less encumbered its grammar with the Aryo-Semitic vocabulary and grammatical forms than the Ottoman Turkish, I should rather call it Constantinople Turkish.

In Turkish also like in the Hungarian we can obviously see the gradual adoption of the borrowed forms. Their grammarians, if they had any, were not able to transplant *in toto* all the rules of the powerful languages by which they were surrounded, but they have gradually introduced many of the cardinal points of an inflectional system. However, they have not succeeded, like their brothers the Huns, to alter the structure and character of their language from agglutinative into amalgamative, therefore, even to-day they have to be ranked rather with the Archaic North Himalayan languages, like the Japanese, than with the Semitic or Aryan. Let us take, for example, a Turkish verb, we can

see purely, that its conjugation, as we have it at present, was not a primitive or spontaneous outgrowth, but a later unnecessary encumbrance made under the direct influence, or rather instigation, of the two powerful languages which have so immensely influenced everything Turkish. We can observe here, the first stage of borrowing the post-positions of persons and numbers of a conjugational system completely alien to the genius of their language, while the root immutably holds its position of superiority as well as that of priority. Take, for example, Turkish verb *اچماک* a *chmak* "to open," "to loose," the archaic form *اکماک* *akmak*, now meaning "to flow," the Japanese *akeru* "to open" "to loose" :—

CONSTANTINOPLE TURKISH.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present.

| | | | | |
|-------|-------|-----------|-------------------------|-----------------|
| اچم | اچيور | A chiyoor | — am. | I am opening. |
| سان | اچيور | " " | — san. | |
| — | اچيور | " " | — — | |
| اچک | اچيور | A chiyoor | — ik. | We are opening. |
| اچيوز | اچيور | " " | — see ^{nee} z. | |
| اچيوز | اچيور | " " | — lar. | |

IMPERFECT.

| | | | | |
|--------|-------|-----------|--------------|------------------|
| اچيدم | اچيور | A chiyoor | — eideem. | I was opening. |
| اچيدس | اچيور | " " | — eideen. | |
| اچيدي | اچيور | " " | — eidee. | |
| اچيدک | اچيور | A chiyoor | — eideek. | We were opening. |
| اچيدنس | اچيور | " " | — eideenees. | |
| اچيدلر | اچيور | " " | — eideclar. | |

TARTAR, OR CENTRAL ASIAN, TURKISH.

| | | | |
|------------|--------|--------|-----------------|
| اچم — اچیر | A chir | am. | I am opening. |
| چم — چیر | „ chir | — san. | |
| — — چیر | „ “ | — —. | |
| اچم — اچیر | A chir | — ikh. | We are opening. |
| چم — چیر | „ „ | — siz. | |
| ل — لیر | „ „ | — lar. | |

IMPERFECT.

| | | | |
|-----------|--------|-----------|------------------|
| دیم — دیر | A chir | — dim. | I was opening. |
| دیم — دیر | „ „ | — din. | |
| دیم — دیر | „ „ | — dee. | |
| دیم — دیر | A chir | — dikh. | We were opening. |
| دیم — دیر | „ „ | — diz. | |
| دیم — دیر | „ „ | — deelar. | |

Before we progress any further, notice two points in the conjugation of the above verb to illustrate the tendencies working in the Constantinople and Central Asian dialects of the Turkish language. The Constantinople Turkish has introduced the very harmonious sound “yao” into its simple root *achmak* “to open,” and we have a very euphonic word *achiyoor*, while the Central Asian dialect has preserved its archaic *a char*, or *a kar*. In the second place while the Central Asian Turkish has retained still its hard aspirated guttural *kh*, the letter which makes all Semitic languages so unmusical and harsh, the Constantinople Turkish has substituted the soft guttural *k*, *a chi yoor* — *i k*, “we are opening,” while the Central Asian Turkish has *achir* — *i kh*. This gradual elimination of the hard gutturals from the Constantinople Turkish can be only attributed to the coming in contact of the Turk, for the past four hundred years, with the refined nations

of Europe, which for more than a thousand of years have weeded out every harsh sound from their alphabet; and not to the Arabic or Persian languages who have not realized yet the immense value of this process of refinement.

Again in the above example of the conjugation of a Turkish verb we can see, in the first place, that the root *اچمک* *achmak* is never usurped from its position of priority by any preposition in the whole verb-system. In Greek *λ-ο-ω* "I loose," becomes *ε-λο-ον* "I was loosing" in the Imperfect. In Persian *گشودم* *kooshadam* "I opened," is suddenly metamorphosed into *میگشایم* *mikooshanam* "I am opening." In the modern Semitic Syriac root *ܡܬܟܠܐ* *putikh* Hebrew *פתח* *patakh* and Arabic *فٓتح* *phataha*, "to open," *فتحت* *ptikhlee* "I opened" becomes *أفتتح* *bi-ptakba-vin* "I am opening." In all agglutinative languages, even in the advanced Hungarian, the "verbal-base" never loses its vocal self-identity, or priority as we see in Semitic and Aryan languages.

In the second place, from the above example we can perceive that the original form of the Indicative Present in Turkish was just like the Japanese *akeru*, simply *achi-oor*, or rather the Archaic *akiyoor*, "I open," and nothing more. But when the Turk for the first time met the egotistic Aryan and Semitic who cannot express an idea as a desire without repeating their "ego" as *أنا* *ani* "I," he felt the importance of his personality and collecting the suffixes of persons and numbers he glutinated them to his *أفتتح* *achiyoor*.

Lastly, agglutinative languages being more or less in their primitive condition, have borrowed, very naturally, more words than was the case with the ancient Semitic or Aryan languages. Take, for example, two such distant Aryan languages as English and Persian, though the alienation of their vocabulary is very great, still the Archaic words of the original Aryan ancestor are retained by them.

Take such words as "father," "mother," "brother" and many others; through the lapse of milleniums they are still there to testify their blood affinity. In all agglutinative languages the change is so complete that it requires the superhuman skill of an alchemist to convert one word from one language to another. For "mother" we have *ana* in Turkish and *haha* in Japanese; for father *āta* in Turkish, and *chi chi* in Japanese. In the Korean these two words have more resemblance to the Turkish than to the Japanese. *A-pi* "father" and *e-mi* "mother," in the Tibetan are *a-ma* "mother" and *a-pa* "father."

The above being the main discouraging points operating against a speedy composition of a complete grammar of all agglutinative languages, still the work must not be given up in despair. The materials obtained by hard labour are gradually accumulating. The time, in my opinion, is approaching when the godsent person will appear and do for these dispersed languages what Bapp did for the Aryan. Indeed what Sir William Jones and Wilson did for Bapp in the Sanskrit, and Anquetil Duperron in the ancient Persian, the something is being done by Hoffmann, Aston, Chamberlain and Batchelor in the Japanese, Aino and Loochooan languages, and by the prolific labours of the Catholic Mission of the "Société des Missions Etrangères de Paris" for the Korean. Have not the self-effacing labours of many other ancient scholars and savants in the whole field brought the vast subject within the horizon of a speedy realization?

Now I shall try to illustrate very briefly the relationship of the Archaic Japanese to the inflectional Turkish: both belonging to the two most distinct nations of the North Himalayan race. This I shall try to do by giving one sentence, expressing a perfect idea and desire. Suppose, if we wanted to say:—

"I went to Yokohama, drank a glass of water, and came back home.

In the modern spoken Japanese this would be :

“Yokohama-ye itte, mizu nonde, kayerimashita.”

This, in the written Turkish, also in the high class spoken language would be :—

“Yokohama-ya gedoob, soo eechoob, kayithim.”

Let us for the sake of their unmistakable and striking similarity put them in juxtaposition :—

Japanese : Yokohama-ye itte, mizu nonde, kayerimashita.

Turkish : Yokohama-ya gedoob, soo eechoob, kayithim.

Now notice that the principal grammatical rules of all agglutinative languages : the precedence of the object to the subject in the order of words, the absence of any kind of preposition, and the greatest of all, that is the absence of all conjunctives and the substitution of the gerundial form of Participle, and finally the termination of the sentence by a verb, are all retained intact in both languages. If we attempt to put the above sentence in any one of the many Semitic or Aryan languages every word has to change its place.

Also consider the resemblance of [the dative suffix “*ye*” in Japanese to “*ya*” in Turkish. Then the almost undoubted identity of the culminating Japanese verb *kayerimashita* to the Turkish *kayithim* “came back,” “returned.”

If the above sentence was put in English and French languages their resemblance would be far less striking than that of the Japanese and Turkish :

English : I went to Yokohama, drank a glass.

French : J'allais a Yokohama, buvait un verre.

English : of water, and returned home.

French : de l'eau, et retournais chez moi.

Because Semitic nations have never wandered very far from the original centre of their early habitation, consequently their languages have kept always a close relationship to the present language and also to each other. Hence

if the above sentence was put in Hebrew and Syriac, their similarity and likeness would be greater than that of any other two Aryan languages, take even ancient Persian and Sanskrit.

The second point of resemblance between Japanese and Turkish languages, which, in my opinion, should settle the question of their consanguinity is the negative sound "z" going through all the moods and tenses of their verbs. Mr. Chamberlain in arraying the great differences between the Aino and Japanese says: "the idea of negative is differently treated in the two languages. Aino uses an independent negative adverb *shomo* or *seenne*, which correspond exactly to the English word "not." It also possesses a few curious negative verbs, such as *isane* "not to be," *ura* "not to know." In Japanese on the contrary, the idea of negative is *invariably* expressed by conjugational forms. Each verb and adjective has a negative "voice" which goes through all the moods and tenses, just as Latin and Greek verbs have an inflected passive voice." Let us now compare the negative voice in "Z" which "goes through all the moods and tenses" of these two cognate languages:

JAPANESE.

verb yuku, to go.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------|-------|---|--------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------|
| Present: | yukaz | — | aru | ... | ... | ... | ... | I am not going. |
| Past: | yukaz | — | ariki | ... | ... | ... | ... | I did not go. |
| | yukaz | — | arishi | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| Future: | yukaz | — | aran | ... | ... | ... | ... | I will not go. |

CONSTANTINOPLE TURKISH.

Verb: getmak, to go.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present: *أولو ايرم* — *الو ايرم* getmaz — Aoloayoram. { I am not
going.
Past: *أولو ايرم* — *الو ايرم* getmaz — Aoloaudim. I did not go.
Future: *أولو ايرم* — *الو ايرم* getmaz — Aolajakam. I will not go.

A literary translation of the above Turkish verb and its three tenses just like Japanese would be : “ not having gone,” or “ not going,” I am becoming ; not having gone, or not going, I became : and not having gone, or not going, I will become.

IMPERATIVE.

| | | |
|------------|-------------------------|----------|
| Japanese : | yukaz—aré ¹³ | go not ! |
| Turkish : | getmaz—aol | “ “ |

GERUND.

| | | |
|------------|----------|------------------|
| Japanese : | yukaz(u) | not having gone. |
| Turkish : | getmaz | not going. |

The Turkish verb just like Japanese has other “ negative voices ” beside that in “ z.”

A writer whose name I cannot recollect at present has said that the sound “ no ” or “ na ” is universal in mankind for the expression of a negative desire or idea. In all Semitic languages “ no ” is changed to *la*. In no other languages which I have investigated does the sound “ z ” express a negative desire except in Turkish and Japanese. The Corean nation which is nearer geographically to Japan than Turkey in their language have not retained this sound, it has changed “ za ” to “ cha ” or “ ta.”¹⁴ The Hungarian language has adopted the Aryan “ no.” Can, then, such an affinity be attri-

¹³ Compare the similarity of the Japanese *ara* and *aru* “ to be ” to the Turkish *aolmak* “ to be.”

¹⁴ See Grammaire Coreanne P. 134.

buted to some fortuitous causes to which undoubtedly every language is more or less subject? A fortuitous similarity can never become so universal as this. Just as a Japanese will say *nomazu* "I will not drink," *mizu*, "I will not see," *tabezu* "I will not eat"; likewise a Turk will say *ichmazu*, *yarmaz*, *yermaz*. This form of negative expression in Turkish just as in Japanese is Archaic, and more used in the written than in the spoken language.

In the very limited and circumscribed space of my subject, I have endeavoured to show a few principal resemblances between two languages spoken to-day by two distant nations of the world, which in many leading points of human character radically differ, nay more, are almost opposite each other. My purpose was not to write a complete comparative grammar of the Turkish and Japanese languages. The field of investigation in agglutinative languages, as I have said already, is too vast to be attempted here; and the person who collects its fruits into the granary of universal knowledge of humanity, he will be called blessed, as the light of science advances and grows in brilliancy, by the endless future generations.

Before closing this Paper, one question has repeatedly presented itself to my mind, and will, with all probability, present itself to your mind, also: namely, "Are the South and North Himalayan races both of the same primeaval stock, commonly called Mongolian, or are they two distinct races of mankind." The question is not an easy one to answer. The duty of the ethnologist and anthropologist is to investigate the different stratifications of mankind without considering the unity of their remote origin; just as a geologist would study the different strata of the globe, without thinking at all that the chemist would reduce the whole material universe ultimately into co-ordinate molecules. He has to record the differences, physical, mental, and philological, of the races and nations under his exami-

nation, and leave to others to find out the unity of origin of humanity. That there are avenues, narrow and dark, leading to such a unity, I have no doubt ; but at present they are too dark, and the light which we possess is insufficient to guide us through them. However, I might almost prophetically say that, if ever science reaches finally such a unity, it must pass through the path of inductive philological studies ; forcing its way through the cumbersome labyrinth of the Semitic and Aryan grammars reaching the simple and archaic agglutinative dialects, which will easily usher us to the real earthly Paradise where we can see man and woman, Adam and Eve, our first parents, both just created by the Eternal Almighty, sinless and happy in state and estate, expressing in very few words their limited wants and desires.

THE BEGINNING OF JAPANESE HISTORY, CIVILIZATION, AND ARTS.

BY THE REV. I. DOOMAN.

[*Read June 9th, 1897.*]

CHAPTER I.

AUTHORITIES.

In a preceding Paper I have attempted to show that the present Japanese race originally belonged to a great stock of the human family endowed with many natural talents and diverse native gifts for organization and progress. I have endeavoured to trace his affinity and similarity, physical, philological, and psychological, to the nations which have played not an inconsiderable part in the universal drama of the advancement and upward ascent of our species. In this Paper my aim is to trace and investigate the history of the early colonists in these Islands, to find out the dominant ideas, religious and sociological, by which they were governed on their first arrival. However, before beginning this difficult task I must say a few words about the original authorities which have mainly guided me.

If we except the Chinese, perhaps, in no other branch of the North Himalayan race the mental productivity of the nation has been so prolific as that of Japanese. From the time when the science of writing was introduced from the Continent by some itinerant missionary monks to the present day the stream of the Japanese literature has never been dried up by the scorching winds of an adverse fortune : and among the whole range of literature in Japan no branch, as far as the writer's knowledge extends, is so systematically treated as history. Books by Japanese writers about the history of their own country are innumerable. Among this large host, however, both in point of time and value to our present subject, the *Kojiki* stands pre-eminently foremost. From the *Kojiki* I expect to derive some facts, though distorted, (but what country's facts about its early history are not distorted !) to illustrate the early history of Japan from the landing of the first Continental Settlers, their struggles with the aborigines, the gradual recession of the latter to the northern parts of the Main Island, the subsequent conflicts of the colonists between themselves, the final ascendancy of the Yamato tribes, and the establishment of the Yamato hegemony and dynasty. With the *Kojiki* I have taken another book, not for the value of its historical data, but for the light that it will shed upon the inner life of the primitive Japanese ; I mean, the *Manyōshū*. With the invaluable assistance of these two books I am hoping to present before you a full picture of the early history and life of the Japanese race.

Whether any future historian of Japan shall succeed in re-arranging satisfactorily the chronological tables of the Japanese monarchy is a matter open to doubt. The mythical history of Japan is just as complicated, and its dates uncertain as that of Greece and ancient Rome and Persia ; and in no value of human thought, if we except metaphysics, the steed of hypothesis gallops with such an unrestrained speed as in that of mythology.

The compilation of the *Kojiki*¹ (Records of Ancient Matters) according to its preface, was begun during the reign of the Emperor Temmu and finished during the rule of the Emperor Gemmō. The occasion leading to this undertaking is thus described by its Author, Futo no Yasumaro. "The Heavenly Sovereign (Emperor Temmu) commanded saying: 'I hear that the chronicles of the emperors, and likewise the original words in the possession of the various families deviate from exact truth, and are mostly amplified by empty falsehoods. If at the present time these imperfections be not amended, ere many years shall have elapsed, the purport of this, the great basis of the country, the grand foundation of the monarchy, will be destroyed. So now I desire to have the chronicles of the emperors selected and recorded, and the old words examined and ascertained; falsehoods being erased and the truth determined, in order to be transmitted to after ages.'" This Emperor must have been a very provident and farseeing monarch; this wise action of his more than twelve centuries ago was the main cause in securing for his remote descendants the imperial throne in 1865! With Futo no Yasumaro in the onerous duty of collating the documents there is another name connected: "At that time there was a retainer whose surname was Hiyeda and his personal name Aré. He was twenty-eight years old, and of so intelligent a disposition that he could repeat with his mouth whatever met his eyes, and record in his heart whatever struck his ears. Forthwith Aré was commanded to learn by heart the genealogies of the emperors, and likewise the words of former ages."

The happy result of all this labour is the present *Kojiki*, a book occupying a unique place in the ancient mythical literature of the world.

¹ The *Kojiki* has been translated into English by Prof. Basil Hall Chamberlain with notes of vast erudition, showing the intimate acquaintance of the translator with Japanese literature.

The book divides itself into two separate parts ; first, the mythic portions, which open with a short cosmogony and the origin of the visible universe and the existence of the gods, and come down in a well-arranged theogony, which would have done credit to a Hesiod, and reach the generation of Izanagi and Izanami to whom is entrusted the difficult task of creating Japan. The subsequent chapters are mainly occupied with the internecine feuds and struggles of the earthly gods ; and also between these earthly gods who have taken strong grip over their terrestrial possessions, and the celestial deities who from time to time send messengers to demand loyalty and tribute. The struggle almost always ends in victory resting upon the side of the heavenly messenger, although not infrequently the divine Ambassador is quite roughly handled by his impolite earthly kinsmen. Finally the gods get tired of daily-increasing troubles and send two of their number, Kami-Yamato Iware-Biko and his elder brother Itsu-se, as vicegerents of the celestial deities to govern the turbulent lands. Attended with a considerable retinue "leaving the Heavenly Rock-Seat, pushing asunder the eight-fold heavenly spreading clouds, and dividing a road with a mighty road-dividing, set off floating, shut up in the Floating Bridge of Heaven, and descended from Heaven unto the peak of Kuzuhifuru which is Takachiho in Tsukushi." From this place the two brothers start on an expedition through the Inland Sea, after many battles and engagements, in one of which the elder brother is killed, and the younger at the supreme command of the army reaches the province of Yamato, and establishes his capital at a place called Kashiwabara.

The second part, that is historical, begins from the establishment of the Jimmu dynasty in Yamato and comes down to the end of the reign of the Emperor Suiko 628 A.D. The historical portion for eliminating most of the supernatural element, which enlivens everything trans-

mitted to us from remote antiquity, in contrast with the mythical part, seems prosaic and insipid. Mostly it is composed of the palace intrigues and conspiracies, struggles between the numerous wives, concubines, and children of the dead and reigning Sovereign, and his endless wooings and matrimonial alliances. Indeed it seems to be a very faithful mirror of the events and incidents which must have taken place in the Imperial Court of Japan in those days, events which even to-day pass in the palaces and seraglios of many semi-civilized Oriental potentates. If it was not for some chronological impossibilities which this historical portion contains it would be highly irrational, in our opinion, to impugn the credibility of its contents.

However, the question will repeatedly present itself, How about the mythic element of the Kojiki? which will serve as an introductory query to the great question, What is mythology? In studying the primitive history of every civilized nation—with the only exception of that of the ancient Hebrews, which stands, as the great German thinker, Hegel, has said “like a sober man in a crowd of drunkards”—we find it enveloped in an impenetrable chrysalis of traditions where natural and supernatural, heaven and earth, metaphysics and science, prose and poetry, childhood and manhood, history and fiction, probable and improbable, are inseparably interwoven together. Is there mythology the fabrication of a childish fancy to excite and please the hearer; the pure work of imagination, like the Arabian Nights; or it is the poetic and symbolical expressions of the human race in its united totality, at a time full of exuberance and pure joy, and when every individual member, with absolute freedom and liberty, was roaming everywhere he pleased, and uttering his thoughts with a similar freedom about everything; a time when the yoke of scientific nomenclature and logical terminologies had not enslaved him forever; at a time when every objective phenomenon seemed to him full of life and energy, reflecting its personality

upon his receptive sense—perception, and every spot and locality was sanctified by the ever-present majesty of the Deity? On our part, we think the latter to be the more rational interpretation of the myth phenomena. We must clearly observe and consider the impassable gulf between myth and fiction. Fiction is the sole creation of imagination and fancy. It is created out of nothing. It is the only thing which mankind has succeeded in creating *ex nihilo*. In mythology, although imagination and fancy have considerable share, other elements predominate. Mythology is the complete microcosm of the primitive man. Fiction has never succeeded in becoming the “complete microcosm” of any race or of any age, the Nineteenth Century not excepted. In these ancient myths, better than in anything else, we can see the prehistoric antiquity in its amplitude reflected as in an indelible mirror. Mythology is the phonograph. Whenever we open it we can hear distinctly, with an unmistakable voice, what our primeval ancestors spoke, thought, and acted. Let us, as an illustration, take the story of the Impetuous-Male-Deity. For his disobedience he is expelled by his father Izanagi from his house and immediately goes to the house of his elder sister, Amaterasu,—the Heaven-Shining Deity; alarmed at the rumour of his coming, she says “the reason of the ascent of my brother hither is surely no good intent. It is only that he wishes to wrest my land from me.” She prepares to meet and repulse, by fighting if necessary, his unwelcome visit. However he assures her of his good intentions and is gladly admitted into his loving sister’s mansion. Soon, however, his vicious habits and propensities manifest themselves. He breaks down the divisions of the rice-fields; fills up the ditches, and carries his crazy devastation even into the palace. But his sister, ever kind-hearted and forgiving, as every sister is, even “upbraided him not, but said, what looks like excrements must be something that His Augustness my brother has vomited through

drunkenness. Again, as to his breaking down the divisions of the rice-fields and filling up the ditches it must be because he grudges the land they occupy." Forbearance, however, in many persons, instead of being the primary cause leading to repentance and moral reformation, gives more opportunity for the continuation of evil habits, and more obstinate resistance to the final triumph of good. It was the same with Soo-Sa-no-Ō. Amaterasu, finding herself utterly helpless against her reckless brother, appealed to the Council of the gods. "Thereupon the eight hundred myriad Deities took council together, and imposed upon the culprit a fine of a thousand tables, and likewise cut his beard, and even caused the nails of his fingers and toes to be pulled out, and expelled him with a divine expulsion." Being ousted from heaven once more he descends to earth. This time he kills an eight-forked serpent, rescues a little girl from the monster's claws, and surely, very soon he marries her, builds a palace and anew begins his earthly career. Now where can you find a better picture, faithful even to its minutest details, of a Nineteenth Century prodigal Japanese young man? You go to-day to any tea-house or theatre in Tokyo, and will find them crowded with Soo-Sa-no-Ōs. Do we not, in this interesting myth see theology, metaphysics, science, astronomy, history, and fiction all blended, and happily blended together?

If, then, mythology opens to our observation such extensive avenues, leading to a vast world of complicated thought and life, it will be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to establish a few pre-determined arbitrary rules, as the final standard of criticism and explanation of this exhaustless source of data passing before us with a sweep precluding all minute analysis. The impulse awakening human consciousness to activity often, if not always, is extremely capricious, and will stubbornly refuse to be subjected to any method or law of dissection and investigation. This is pre-eminently true of the myth phenomena.

Hence many recent attempts to discover a science of mythology though successful in many points, have not finally settled the question, and the key has failed to open the door.² The conditions, objective and mental, surrounding mythopæic man have often been compared and likened to those of the savage of to-day. But we must not ignore the fact that the mythopæic man was not a savage. All the ancient myths which have reached us at present have descended from the nations just beginning to enter the threshold of a great future career. They have come to us from the Assyrian and Babylonian empires, from Greece and Rome, from Persia and India, from China and Japan, nations which have developed great and powerful civilizations, nations which when making these myths had embosomed potentialities which developed into greatness in future ; and not savages of Central Africa or the Pacific islands. The savage of to-day has no such a career before him. If left unassisted, perhaps, he will never be able to raise himself to that stage of culture and refinement which the mythopæic races have reached. Who is so bold as to venture the prediction that a couple of milleniums hence the bushman of Africa will be able to reach the height of the Homeric Greek ? The mental furniture of the savage races does not contain the wealth of material, the flight of imagination, the universality of comprehension, the diversity of description, the minuteness of analysis and symmetry of synthesis, which the mythopæic nations possessed and utilized to great advantage to themselves in their progress, and to future generations. Hence the analogy falls very short.

² The subject of mythology has given occasion for considerable heated controversy between Mr. Spencer and Prof. MaxMüller. Andrew Lang has an able article on the subject in the 9th edit. of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. German and French writers on the subject are many.

The greatest obstacle to a correct understanding of mythology is the over-abundance of supernaturalism in its grossest anthropomorphic aspects. Supernaturalism is the background and foundation of mythology. Every personage in the vast drama is invested with attributes against whom the immutable laws of nature can make no resistance. Hence with complacent security we sweep away everything, whether natural or supernatural, legendary or historical.

But what is indispensable for a thorough reliability of every historical description is either a direct visual observation or the unchallengeable attestation of unprejudiced and competent eye-witnesses. In the second place we cannot admit that simply the existence of supernatural personages in every historical narrative makes it *à priori* incredible in every detail. If we adopt such a canon for historical criticism we shall be compelled to reject as unfounded fiction the whole past history of humanity. No historian who desires to have a clear and complete understanding of the early life and actions of the nation when he endeavours to portray its consecutive history can dispense with its mythical age. What is the history of a nation but a faithful description of events subjective and objective illustrating the complete actuality of its life and thought? Therefore no history of a country will be complete without such a comprehensive scope of treatment. A method of writing which confines itself to a certain exclusive subject, whatsoever its importance, and ignores all other causes, and the means of building a nation gradually, becomes narrow and one-sided. According to Lord Macaulay's conception of history, it is nothing but the division of a nation into two parliamentary camps standing perpetually upon the Ebal and Gerizim of political declivity and eternally hurling imprecations and maledictions against each other. Neither was Voltaire, in our opinion, right, when he tried to exclude all the sanguinary struggles of the nations from the pages of his history, as nothing better than the actions of bears

and wolves. Mankind has still preserved in its bosom that instinct and irrationality by which our friends, the lower animals, settle their feuds and crucial problems. And it becomes the imperative duty of every historian, who is nothing but a collector of data past and present, and to a certain extent, judging from the sequence of correlative events, also of the coming future, to record the occasional manifestations of this lower propensity of our nature. Indeed, many of the leading causes of our modern civilization owe their existence primarily to this bellicose temperament. What would have been the present condition of Christendom if Charles Martel with his brave soldiers had not repulsed the invading Saracens and saved Europe from the fate of maritime Africa! History must be a microcosm in which we can always see clearly and distinctly the complete life of a nation in its prismatic unity. If we accept this definition as our standard, the superiority of the method of the ancient myth writers to that of many of our modern historians, the superiority of the method followed by Futo no Yasumaro over that of Voltaire and Macaulay, will become quite evident. History has always been the foundation of mythology. The myth compiles, builds his superstructure upon historical bases, or what he thought to be incontestably historical, just as any of the scientific historians of the present day. And frequently, in my opinion, we can learn about the actual life and thought of a nation from a myth more than from the many pages of a scientifically written history! Compare for example, the different histories of the exploits and expeditions of Alexander the Great, mostly written by eye-witnesses and compiled by contemporary authors, with the *Iliad* of Homer. In the latter we possess a better portrait of the thinking and doings of the Ancient Greeks than in the former. The person who ventures to impugn the historical occurrences of the feuds between the Greeks and Trojans, two infant colonies of the bellicose and pugnacious Aryan,

must possess considerable retrospective supernatural power, not abundantly manifested in our days!

The second book, by whose assistance I am hoping to have a full and faithful picture of the early Japanese colonist, is the *Manyōshu* (Collection of a Myriad Leaves). *Manyōshu*, as its title designates, is a collection of verses composed by different poets on different subjects and on different occasions. The contents of this beautiful anthology treat of a large variety of subjects: up from the abstract themes of theogony and cosmogony down to seasickness. In the old Japanese literature, history occupies the same position as *Shih-King* in that of China; although the difference between them is very great in every respect. *Manyōshu* is conceived on a broader plane of thought than *Shih-King*. Its variety of subjects, the warmth of pathos and the intensity of the feelings and emotions which characterizes everything Japanese, contrast very prominently with that tame almost insipid urbanity so peculiar to the Chinese of the *Shih*. A large majority of the early *Manyōshu* poems are addressed by the Court poet—poet Laureate—to his Master, Daimyō, or King as the occasion happened. Hence they give us a faithful picture of the centres of dominion in the different provinces of the empire. We have here verses on the Court of Yoshino, of Nara, of Ōmi, and of many other places, which must have been at one time or other, the centres of the ancient colonial feudalism. Most of these poems are attributed to the poets about whose historical existence we know very little. In all probability these names were attached to the different poems by the latter collators following either their own prolific fancy, or some unreliable tradition.

As the majority of the *Manyōshu* poems are compiled by different persons on different occasions, as stated already, naturally it will be quite difficult to assign any fixed dates to them. One thing, however, is quite remark-

able and suggestive, namely, the absence of any mention of Confucianism or Buddhism. The theology dominating all these poems is Shintōism, or the old religious ideas and conceptions of the primitive Japanese, as the following verse will show :

*“ Ame tsuchi no
Hajime no toki ni ;
Hisa kata no
Ama no kawara ni
Yawo yorozu
Chi yorozu kami no ;
Kan-tsudai
Tsudai imashite,
Kan Hakari
Hakari shi toki ni
Amaterasu Hirameno Mikoto³
Ame woba shiru^{hi} mesu to,” etc.*

According to the Japanese annals Confucianism was introduced into the Empire during the reign of the Emperor Ojin about the middle of the third century of our era, from Corea ; and Buddhism at the beginning of the sixth century during the reign of the Emperor Keitai. Judging from the absence of any mention of the names of these two powerful religions which have, since their first introduction, so deeply influenced and moulded everything Japanese, we are compelled to attribute the origin of many of the Manyōshu poems to the earliest history of the Japanese race. A large majority, however, as already stated, are local poems of the old settlers, and judging from their topography they must have been sung for the first time

³ In the beginning of heaven and earth, all the gods, whose number is indefinite, assembling in the bed of the heavenly river, after prolonged deliberation and consultation decided to entrust the Government of the firmament to Amaterasu Hirumeno Mikoto.

centuries after the first continental colonists crossed the channel in their search of the Promised Land. Some of them, as we shall see later on, were composed when the Go-Kinaio ascendancy over Kyushiu and Izumo was gradually asserting itself. Many of the poems also picture a sedentary and well settled life; they are not like the vedic poems, the vigorous expressions of the robust nomadic Japanese roaming over the immensity of the North Asian territory. Here the nomadic man has disappeared, the tent (maku) has given place to the palace (miya); although a good many of his old habits and manners are still conspicuously shining.

Besides these two, there are other books indispensable for a historian attempting to write a complete history of early Japan. The Yamato Bumi or the Nihon-Gi (Chronicles of Japan) after the Kojiki stands as the highest authority. In fact it is nothing but a reproduction of the Kojiki with many additions and also a few omissions. However, to write a complete history of Japan is not the aim and purpose of the present Paper, but to give an outline sketch of the primitive Japanese, mentally, socially, and artistically.

CHAPTER II.

HABITS AND CUSTOMS OF THE EARLY JAPANESE.

The early Japanese on his first appearance in these beautiful Islands must have brought with him considerable civilization and culture, and he must have embosomed the germs of that potentiality whose mature partition in art

is the wonder and delight of the present world. Thus we read in the Kojiki that Izanagi after returning from his extremely unpleasant excursion into the infernal region in search of his wandering wife Izanami, finds the first thing to think of is a much needed ablution. He goes to a river, and is not satisfied till he finds a sufficiently deep place, and cleanses himself thoroughly from the filth cleaving to his person. Bathing has always been a great luxury of the advanced nations. Its total absence degrades a human being to the level of the animal creation ; and too much indulgence in it on the other hand enervates man and unfits him for coping with a great many hard problems of life. Bathing was one of the principal causes leading to the decline and final fall of the Roman Empire, notwithstanding Gibbon.

The early Japanese colonist must also have possessed a very keen taste for the æsthetic and love of the beautiful. We read again in the Kojiki when the Heavenly Deities commission Izanagi and Izanami to "make, consolidate, and give birth to this drifting land," they grant to the newly married divine couple "an heavenly jewelled spear." The adornment and decoration of the war instruments with jewels and tassels denotes an advanced science of war ; at least it shows that their possessor has passed the stone and wood ages to that of the iron and steel. Beside the Kojiki's reference to jewels in the Manyōshū the allusions to their use for the adornment of woman are very frequent. Oftentimes the husband in order to prove his intense love for his wife sings that he will go to distant lands and bring her jewels (*tama*), an enterprise seldom occurring at present amongst the most civilized nations of the world. The stone generally used is called *tama* (ball), in all probability looking like the present Maga-Tama, a stone not without many attractive qualities. Of course it cannot be denied that many of the savage races still exist, carrying the ornamentation of their wives to a very—

from our æsthetical standpoint—ridiculous extent. But the great difference of this science is in the method and materials of adornment. A savage woman who adorns herself with the human teeth just extracted from the skull of the victim upon whose flesh she expects very soon to satiate her unnatural appetite, is quite different from an early Japanese wife whose one small *maga tama* to-day will cost several hundred dollars.⁴

In connection with jewels we have the mirror frequently mentioned in the early Japanese history. This useful instrument has very close relations to the science of self-ornamentation and the taste of the beautiful. In the early Japanese mythology, as we shall see later on, it was made an object of worship. Perhaps it is for this reason, considered as an object of veneration, that Japanese women carry it constantly as a *vade mecum* in their belts.

In person the continental Japanese must have been, as indicated in a previous chapter, quite tall, anyhow much taller than his present day remote descendant. In the *Kojiki*, for example, we are told about men possessing eight-grasp long beards, which would be equal to 23 inches if measured by my hand.⁵ Men possessing 23 inches long beards necessarily must have been quite tall; because a short man with a long beard is a laughter-exciting incongruity in every country, and in every stage of civilization. The *Kojiki* quotes this as a mark of the greatness and honour of the person in question, and not of ridicule.

This will show that the early Japanese not only had beards, but also greatly gloried in them. When the eight hundred myriad Deities took counsel to expel that *bête noire* of the Japanese pantheon, Soo-Sana-no-Ō, from

⁴ The present writer has seen a very small *maga tama* worth five hundred *yen*!

⁵ This is a very common kind of measurement and extensively used even to the present day over all the occidental Orient.

heaven, as a mark of disgrace they cut off his beard, a punishment even to-day extensively used in the Mahomedan countries, upon those priests who drink wine, and the middle-aged men who beat their wives.

In their marital life and domestic obligations the Kojiki and the Manyōshu present two quite different and opposite sides. In the Kojiki the faithlessness of the gods, heroes, and men to their spouses is as great and pronounced as it is to-day, if not greater. Every god or man who happens to be absent from his home for a few days falls in love with the first girl he meets and marries her. Thus the Empress of the Deity-of-Eighty-Thousand-Spears before his going from Izumo to the land of Yamato lamenting her forlorn condition in his absence says :—“ Oh ! Thine Augustness the Deity-of-Eighty-thousand-Spears, My Master-of-the-Great-Land indeed, being a man, probably hast on the various island-head-lands that thou seest, and on every beach-headland that thou lookest on, a wife *like the young herbs*. But as for me, alas ! being a woman, I have no spouse except thee.” This is a very faithful representation of the present day wealthy Japanese who in every large town keeps a wife “ like the young herbs.” In strong contrast with the Kojiki, the Manyōshu is teeming with poems and verselets expressing the inextinguishable love of the husband to his wife and her children.

One sings :

“ Imo ga mishi
Yado ni hana saku.”⁶

(When I see the countenance of my wife, it is like the blossoming of flowers in my home.)

⁶ Kojiki, Page 80, Mr. Chamberlain's translation.

Again she is likened to a plum-tree orchard ; in perpetual blossoming :—

*“ Imo ga iye ni
Sakitaru ume no,
Itsu mo, itsu mo,
Nari namu toki ni
Koto wa sadamenu.*

Where can we find those tender conjugal sentiments expressed in a more lovingly chaste language of exuberance than these ? Even in the Kojiki we find poems of intense love and yearning for a secluded family life. For example, when Soo-Sana-no-Ō kills the eight-forked dragon and after marrying the girl whom he has rescued and entering with her into his new palace, he sings :

*“ Ya kumo tatsu
Izumo ya ye gaki
Tsuma gomi ni
Ya ye gaki wo tsukuru.
Sono ya ye gaki wo ! ”*

which may be rendered

*“ Lo ! countless clouds arising,
Like an eight-fold fence ascending,
For the spouses within enclosing,
An eight-fold fence creating.
Oh ! that eight-fold fence ! ”*

This is, perhaps, the oldest Japanese poetry in existence, and has no relation to the whole tenor of the story of Soo-Sana-no-O's life, character, and wanderings. Indeed at this time this prodigal god had no children from his present wife, and his former career does not show him a person deriving much pleasure from the company of his wife and children. This is one of the best and noblest pieces of poetry describing that inapproachable state of bliss

and felicity upon this miserable earth, which the human tongue has uttered—I mean family.

If the primitive Japanese had attained to such an exalted conception of the marital duties and the enjoyment of family life, the question occurs : were they, in the first days of their existence as a nation, a polygamous or a monogamous race ? I think both ! Monogamy as a well-consolidated institution is neither a product of evolution nor an ethnic injunction. It is purely and solely Christian. Humanity owes this noble boon of a blessed life to Jesus Christ who purified and exalted marriage above the animal passions. Christian sociology is based upon a monogamous family. With such a family Christian religion will stand or fall ! This being our immutable position on this paramount subject, still it cannot be denied that there are certain conditions in human society *conducive* to a monogamous state of life which may be discussed here without any tinge of bias or partiality.

Mr. Herbert Spencer in his customary painstaking way has discussed the subject of human marriage, in all its forms, quoting every authority imaginable and unimaginable, in his first volume of *Sociology* Part III. While accepting that “monogamy dates back as far as any other marital relations,” and that “the state of having two wives must be preceded by the state of having one,” still he goes on to show that a monogamous state is a later product of the evolutionary forces working in the natural man. “Evidently” he says, “as tested by the definiteness and strength of the links among its members, the monogamic family is the most evolved. In polyandry the maternal connection is alone distinct, and the children are but partially related to one another. In polygamy both the maternal and paternal connections are distinct, but while some of the children are fully related, others are related on the paternal side only. In monogamy not only are the maternal and paternal connections both distinct, but all

the children are related on both sides. The family cluster is thus held together by more numerous ties; and beyond the greater cohesion so caused there is an absence of those repulsions caused by the jealousies inevitable in the polygamic family."⁷ This is discussing the subject from the stand-point of utility and not of history. Whether monogamy for the rearing up of children, for the unity and harmony of the internal relations of the family life, is more propitious and better than polygamy, is one thing; and whether the modern monogamous ideas are the actual product of evolutionary forces working uniformly in humanity is quite another thing. I agree with Mr. Spencer that a monogamous state of existence is far better for mankind. But relations of the sexes are a department of human existence the least governed by any rationality or foresight. Men have resorted to the committal of the most unnatural of all murders, infanticide, rather than restrain themselves from the satiation of this animal passion. In some provinces of China, says Dr. Williams, about fifty per cent. of the female children are destroyed, and their unnatural parents related this horrible deed without any apparent compunction. Hence we cannot accept that monogamy is a later product of evolution. On the contrary I think if we study the history of the development of the social order of humanity in its historical and not in a preconceived scientific form, we shall find that polygamy is later and more evolved form. Man, in a state of nature, is a polygamous animal. The more he progresses the more he finds the means to satisfy this instinct. Monogamy is a forced state upon man. Christianity through a divinely revealed imperative precept has forced it upon Christendom; but there are other conditions, as stated above, leading to it; that is forcing men to it.

⁷ Principles of Sociology Vol. I. P. 669.

Polygamy requires a more settled and established state of life; hence is of the agricultural stage. Monogamy must have been a forced state of the pastoral age. The nomadic tribes which wander from place to place in Asia even at the present day are monogamous from necessity and not from free-will. Polygamy is the prerogative of the Chief and the desire of all the rest. An individual possessing a small tent, a little donkey, and a couple of goats, *per se* can support only a very small family. In a moving state of existence woman cannot be lucratively employed. Again a large tent and a great number of women and children make it more attractive for attack and less secure for defence. These and a few more similar causes, in my opinion, are conducive to monogamy in the pastoral age.

In the agricultural, which undoubtedly must have followed immediately the pastoral age, in all civilized countries of Asia, naturally the state of things radically changes. The tent gives place to the thick wall, and the camp to the fortified city. The more servants and attendants are increased, the more land is tilled and occupied. Wealth increases and luxury follows. As concomitants to this evolved state of society follow two institutions which have not only great resemblance to each other, but also possess intimate kinship—polygamy and slavery. Both these institutions are the outgrowth of the agricultural and not of the pastoral age. Even at present amongst the nomadic Kourdish tribes of Persia and Turkey polygamy and slavery—especially the latter—are very rare, while extensively practiced among all other Mahomedan communities. Slavery in Christendom was almost exclusively created by the agricultural conditions and exigencies demanding extra labour in the new Continent. The positive commands of the Christian religion against the plurality of wives kept slavery alone and unattended by her monster sister. However, even here the fatherless

mulatto, so abundant in the Western Hemisphere, testifies to the truth of this theory.

Another condition of life which, in our opinion, will aid monogamy in the primitive man is the marriage of the elder brother with his younger sister. That the early man did not possess the same idea of the differentiation of consanguinity as we have them to-day, is beyond any cavil of irrational doubt. In the Japanese mythology the marriage of the brothers and sisters among the divine family appears to be the most natural and appropriate way of matrimony. We see Izanagi marries his younger sister Izanami. And when she dies in child-birth he is inconsolable for his irreparable loss, and "creeps round her August pillow and round her August feet weeping," an action which the modern Japanese husband has never been seen doing. Again Soo-Sava-no-Ō marries his pretty sister Amaterasu and as the result of this union they have five children. In the early poems of the Manyōshu the word for wife is not *tsuma* but *imo* (younger sister). The most common word as equivalent to our "family" is *waga imo-ko*, literally meaning my younger sister and children. It is this combination which makes the Manyōshu verse so far higher and nobler than the *otome* "maiden" of the later Japanese poetry. Naturally when a male person has for wife his own younger sister, from the two-fold relation of sister and wife the contract of more marriages to the derogation of his sister's prerogatives will be avoided.

This point becomes quite clear from the story of Abraham as recorded in the Old Testament. Abraham had for wife his half-sister Sarah, and did not contract any more marriages, though childless, till very late in his life, and that also after the all-powerful Sarah had given him her consent. The text is "Now Sarai, Abram's wife, bare him no children : and she had a hand-maid, an Egyptian, whose name was Hagar. And Sarai said unto Abram, Behold now, the Lord hath restrained me from bearing :

I pray thee, go in unto my maid ; it may be that I may obtain children by her. And Abram hearkened to the voice of Sarai." Soon after this we find this centenarian, who had hitherto abstained from troubling his sister-wife, seriously going into concubinage ! especially after her death !

Amongst the present-day Mahommedans though polygamy is allowed, and extensively practised, nevertheless whenever a young man marries with his first cousin (the marriage with a sister is prohibited by Mahommed) as a general rule no further marriages are made.⁸ This is either from love or fear, especially when the young man's own father is dead and his uncle has authority, both moral and legal, over him. The present writer knows a number of cases when the young husband had both desire and wealth to contract plural marriages but was restrained from carrying his wishes into actuality from the circumstances stated above.

Dr. Williams in his "Middle Kingdom" dwells on the influence of ancestral worship as conducive to a state of monogamy. It is true that in the countries following Confucian ethics, like China, Corea, and Japan, law recognizes but one wife who, with the husband, as his equal, can be present at the family altar during their numerous festivals. But this has not extinguished polygamy : on the contrary it has taken a worse shape, namely, concubinage. In Mahommedan countries a person is allowed to marry legally up to eight wives, with equal rights, and without degradation to any one of them. This cannot be done in the three countries mentioned above. A concubine has no rights. Not even to the children she may bear. They

⁸ The Koran forbids the following : marriage with the mother, daughter, sister, aunt on both sides, niece on both sides, foster-sister, mother-in-law, daughter-in-law. Also two sisters by the same man, together. The Koran, Chap. four, entitled " Women."

will not recognize her as their parent, but the stranger whom the law recognizes as such. Indeed such an unnatural and monstrous state has no right to the title of monogamy. China and Japan are polygamous countries ; indeed their form of polygamy, in my opinion, is far inferior, from every side which we may look upon it, to that of Persia and Turkey.

There are other ancillary conditions and circumstances leading to a forced monogamy, which might have restrained the primitive Japanese from indulging, without any restriction, in contracting plural marriages in the early stages of his existence. However, very soon after his settlement in these islands the polygamous instinct of the race asserted itself, just as it had asserted itself in the descendants of the Vedic Aryan⁹ in India, and in that of the nomadic Latins in the Roman civilization centuries before.

In the arts and sciences the original colonists, as already stated, must have made considerable progress. On crossing the channel they abandoned the tent for the house. Their houses, however, could not have been very different from the rude hut of the modern Aino of Yezo. We read about palaces (*miya*), the places where the tribal chief resided ; but from these obscure phraseologies we are unable to conceive a faithful picture of their structure, and nothing remains to help us in the matter. One who has devoted time and labour to studying original documents bearing upon the subject thus portrays an ancient Japanese hut :—

⁹ The Vedic singers know no more tender relations than that between the husband and his willing, loving wife, who is praised as "his home, the darling abode and bliss in his house. The high position of the wife is above all shown by the fact that she participates in the sacrifices with her husband ; with harmonious mind at the early dawn both, in fitting words, send up their prayers to the Eternals. These relations are comprehensible only if monogamy was the rule ; and to this the texts point directly." *Der Riguedd*, by Dr. Adolf Kaegi. Introduction.

“Japanese antiquarians tell us that in early times, before carpenters’ tools had been invented, the dwellings of the people who inhabited these islands were constructed of young trees with the bark on, fastened together with ropes made of the rush (*suge*,—*scirpus maritimus*), or perhaps with the tough shoots of the wistaria (*fuji*), and thatched with the grass called *kaya*. In modern buildings the uprights of a house stand upon large stones laid upon the surface of the earth ; but this precaution against decay had not occurred to the ancients, who planted the uprights in holes dug in the ground.

“The ground-plan of the hut was oblong, with four corner uprights, and one in the middle of each of the four sides,—those in the sides which formed the ends being long enough to support the ridge-pole. Other trees were fastened horizontally from corner to corner,—one set near the ground, one near the top, and one set on the top, the latter of which formed what we call the wall-plates. Two large rafters, whose upper ends crossed each other, were laid from the wall-plates to the heads of the taller uprights. The ridge-pole rested in the fork formed by the upper ends of the rafters crossing each other. Horizontal poles were then laid along each slope of the roof, one pair being fastened close up to the interior angle of the fork. The rafters were slender poles, or bamboos, passed over the ridge-pole and fastened down on each end to the wall-plates. Next followed the process of putting on the thatch. In order to keep this in its place, two trees were laid along the top resting in the fork ; and across these two trees were placed short logs at equal distances, which being fastened to the poles in the exterior angle of the forks by ropes passed through the thatch, bound the ridge of the roof firmly together.

“The walls and doors were constructed of rough matting. It is evident that some tool must have been used to cut the trees to the required length. And for this purpose

a sharpened stone was probably employed. Specimens of the ancient style of building may even yet be seen in remote parts of the country,—not perhaps so much in the habitations of the peasantry, as in sheds erected to serve a temporary purpose.”¹⁰

How far this description is correct in representing a primitive Japanese hut, we are unable to say. From the introduction of Buddhism into China and Japan the attempt is made in both countries to reproduce, as far as the materials would allow, Indian sacred architecture. And undoubtedly this has influenced all secular structures also.

Mr. Morse, who has written a delightful book about “Japanese Homes and their surroundings,” traces some southern influence—Malayan, Siamese etc., upon the present Japanese houses. But beside this universal Indian form both here and in China, there is a unique form still kept in small Shinto shrines—large ones are modelled, to a great extent. Accordingly Buddhist temples have native originality, and remind one strongly of the small tent of the nomadic tribes of Central Asia. Speaking on this style of structure in China M. Paliaque says:—

“La formule générale des constructions Chinoises est le *t'ing*. C'est un toit recourbé et surplombant, reposant sur des colonnes courtes. Quelle en est l'origine? Est ce, comme on l'a déjà remarqué, la tente primitive des hordes Asiatiques? Le *t'ing*, avec ses extrémités comme le sont les angles d'une tente relevés par des piques, avec cette incarnation du milieu de la pente que rappelle le creux formé par la souplesse pesante de la taille, présente en effet une ressemblance frappante avec une tente: l'absence du plafond, des fenêtres latérales, et généralement d'étage supérieur, est un trait commun de plus. Le respect que les Chinois ont toujours professé pour les traditions, et la

¹⁰ Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, vol. II. P. 119.

permanence des types primitifs à travers toutes les époques de leur histoire permettent de croire que le *t'ing*, arrêté dans ses formes à une époque très reculée, provient de la tente et n'est qu'un souvenir effacé de la vie nomade."¹¹

Iron must have been brought with the early Colonists. The sword is constantly mentioned in the Kojiki. In many of the Yamato tumuli sabres looking very much like the modern Persian and Tartar *Kama* and eight-grasp in length, are found. Gold and silver are not mentioned in the early native annals. It was reserved to the Goto family during the long and undisturbed tranquility of the Tokugawa era to accomplish those miracles of workmanship in gold and silver.

Pottery, with all probability, was known to the early settlers. However, if the primitive colonists anterior to their settling in Japan were a nomadic race, pottery must have been a later discovery. The present day pastoral tribes of Central and Western Asia know very little about it. Almost all tent utensils are made of wood. Wood carving is the special occupation of men, in which they manifest considerable skill and ingenuity; while the women are given to the spindle. Weaving seems to me to have been extensively used by the early Japanese. The Kojiki tells us that Amaterasu had a "weaving-ball" when she sat superintending the "Weaving of the August garments of the Deities."

From the feuds and the manner of their settlement in the world of gods, we can imagine that in case of grave quarrels and important matters occurring between the people, the tribal Council was convened and like the Greek Agara met and settled them by inflicting fines and diverse kinds of punishments upon the culprit. For example, we find the gods inflicting upon Soo-sana-no-Ō for injuring his sister Amaterasu a fine of a thousand tables, and they likewise

¹¹ L'Art Chinois P. 87.

cut his beard, and even caused the nails of his fingers and toes to be pulled out, and expelled him with a divine expulsion." This is quite in harmony with many barbarous methods of punishment still practised in many parts of Asia; and for which Turkey, for the last two or three years, has earned for herself not very enviable notoriety.

From the fragments preserved in the *Kojiki* and *Man'yōshū*, and many other later books of poetry, we are constrained to think that the Japanese always have been a poetic nation. The old Japanese poetry has lost greatly its pristine verve and charm by being dressed in the Chinese and *kana* characters. However, even under this exotic garb, thought and sentiments are not only beautiful, but often heart stirring. Poetry always contains an element of childishness; hence nations in the infancy of their history often have kept all the records of their thoughts and actions, like the ancient Greeks and Romans, the Vedic Aryans and many other Semitic and Mongolian races, in a poetic language. This poetry producing impulse so abundantly manifested in some persons, and commonly known by that unknown term—genius, Macaulay attributes to insanity—"A certain unsoundness of mind." Real insanity, however, has never been able to produce any coherent poetic pictures and ideas. It is the juvenile sincerity, the childish simplicity of the pure heart and the rich brain of the poet which like a bee collects honey out of the transitory phenomena. However, human society oftentimes brands a man as crazy for producing and creating objects whose spirit it cannot understand. Isn't it this misunderstanding of the poet by the world that has caused many of its best intellects, like Byron and Poe, to be turned into the deepest gutters of ostracism? Indeed if we read Lord Macaulay's entire essay on Milton he finally, though unconsciously, comes to one conception of the origin of the poet's power; he says:—"In a rude state of society, men are children with a greater variety of ideas. It is

therefore in such a state of society that we may expect to find the poetical temperament in its highest perfection."

Before closing this chapter I'll quote the graphic description of the people about a thousand years ago by a Chinese traveller. "As to clothes and bedizenments, the males wear jacket-petticoats with very diminutive sleeves. Their shoes are like sandals, lacquered on the upper face and bound to the foot; but most of the common people go barefoot, and are not allowed to use gold or silver as ornaments, so they often wear a *sarangi* (a kind of Malay garment), the ends of which are tied but never sewn. They have no hats, simply letting the hair hang over the two ears. But in Sui times their prince adopted the hat, made up with gay ornamentations and flowers carved out of gold or silver. The woman tie up the hair behind, and also wear the above jacket-petticoat. Their lower garments are all braided or trimmed round the edge, and they bind sharpened bits of bamboo together to serve as combs. They make *tatamis* out of straw, and fashion their upper garments out of miscellaneous skins, using patterned skins for trimming. They have bones, arrows, swords, cross-bows, long and short spears, and hatchets. Their armour is made of lacquered hide; their arrow heads of bone. Though they have soldiers, there are no fighting campaigns. Whenever their prince holds a formal court, the cortège and paraphernalia must all be set out. There are about one hundred thousand families of musicians in the country. The practice is for murder, robbery, and rape to be punished with death. Robbery without violence is punished by compensation according to what is taken, and if the thief has no property his person becomes a slave. As for other offences, grave or otherwise, they are punished with banishment or the bastinado. In the trial of cases where a great wrong has been suffered, those who will not confess have their knees squeezed with a piece of wood, or have their necks sewn with the tight string of a very powerful

bow. Or small stones are placed in boiling water, and the disputants are ordered to take them out. It is supposed that he who is in the wrong gets his hands scalded. Or, again, a snake is put in a jar, and they are made to take it out; it being supposed that he who is in the wrong will get his hands bitten. The people are very tranquilly disposed, and but little litigious; there are few robberies or thefts. There are five kinds of musical instruments,—guitars, harmoniums, and flutes. Most of the women tattoo the arm, touch up the face, and ornament the body. They dive into the water after fish. They have no written characters; they merely carve wood or knot cords. They are Buddhist and it was only after obtaining the Buddhist *sutras* from Peh-tsi that they had written characters. They understand the art of divination, and are still greater believers in wizards and witches. On the first day of the first moon they invariably have shooting games and drink wine. The rest of their fête-days are much as in China. They are fond of such games as chess, draughts, and dice. The climate is soft and warm, vegetation blooming even in winter. The land is fat and rich. There is more water than dry land. They hang small rings upon the throats of cormorants and make them go into the water to catch fish, of which they will (each) take over a hundred in one day. They are not in the habit of using dishes or bowls, but they make use of large leaves instead. They use their fingers for eating. Their disposition is frank, and they are refined in manner. The women are more numerous than the men. In marriages they do not take women of their own class-name. When the woman enters her husband's house, she must first bestraddle fire, after which she may see her husband. The women are neither lewd nor jealous. The dead are shrouded in a double coffin, and the relatives and guests approach the corpse singing and dancing. Wife, children, and brothers wear white as mourning. The nobles leave the body to lie in

state for three years, but the commoners divine a day for sepulture. When the burial takes place, the corpse is placed on a boat which is dragged along the dry land ; or sometimes a small cart is used. There is a mount Asu, from whose rocks fire without reason shoots up to the skies, which they are wont to consider a prodigy ; hence they sacrifice and pray for it."

The above long extract is taken from an interesting Paper entitled Ma Twan-Liu's Account of Japan up to A.D. 1200, read before this Society by E. H. Parker, Esq., to which I shall refer repeatedly in future.

THE FUNDAMENTAL RELIGIOUS IDEAS OF THE EARLY JAPANESE.

CHAPTER III.

Even to the present day the religion of the primitive Japanese Colonists exists, having descended in what is generally termed Shintōism. Often we have been told that Japanese, as a race, possess less spiritual depth and tenacity, and change more easily their religious beliefs, than some other races, for example, the Aryan-Shintoism is a

standing and living refutation of this charge against the spiritual life of this gifted nation. Twice in its history this feeble Archaic religion has been assailed by the invasion of the creeds of a far higher type, and by spiritual ideas conceived by the nations of far more advanced and attractive civilizations; and although very weakened, still it is not dead after all this long struggle, and may survive both Buddhism and Confucianism. Indeed at the beginning of the Meiji Era and the Imperial Restoration it came very near becoming once more the only religion of the country. "One of the first acts of the Government of the Restoration was to encourage the Shintō creed. A policy naturally dictated by the relation in which this form of faith had stood to the Imperial House from the earliest times. In pursuance of that purpose, the nobles were forbidden to become Buddhist priests, and a more drastic measure was adapted at a later date when, simultaneously with the restoration of the fiefs to the Emperor, the Government resumed possession of the large estates hitherto attached to the temples and constituting their chief source of revenue. An Ecclesiastical Department (Jingi-sho) was also established, and the tendency of its administration coupled with the above measures, had the effect of greatly promoting the cause of Shintōism, and impairing that of Buddhism."¹¹ Another evidence of the immortal vitality of Shintōism is manifested by the frequent rise of some new sects and religious bodies having great resemblance to it, for example, like the present day Tenrikyō, which seems to me to be the only religious impulse now moving the Japanese hearts. The genesis of a new sect religious or political, evidences certain activities. Buddhism for a long time has not produced a new sect in Japan,

¹¹ The History of the Empire of Japan compiled and translated for the Imperial Japanese Commission of the World's Columbian Exposition, 1893. P. 425.

neither has it been active.¹² Its present moribund condition does not augur a great future prosperity. Which is the nation in universal history, let me ask here, displaying such an everlasting tenacity and fidelity to a few rudimentary religious conceptions belonging to the infancy of humanity? Where is to-day the cultured paganism of Greece and of Rome? Of Homer, of Plato, of Julian and of Porphyry?

In this chapter, however, it is not my object to write on Shintōism with all its later growth and development; the strength and ideas which she must have borrowed from Buddhism and Confucianism. It is not my purpose to write about the Shintōism of Hirata or of Motowori, neither that of Percival Lowell; but to try to portray those few and simple religious sentiments which must have governed the conscience of the primitive Japanese. To accomplish this I shall rely totally upon the Kojiki and Manyōshu.

The Kojiki cosmology is very deep and very brief: "The names of the Deities (kami) that were born in the Plain of High Heaven (*takama-no-hara*), (which I have translated "firmament") when the Heaven (Ama) and Earth (Tsuchi, Hebiriz (𐰇𐰆𐰪𐰸) began, were the Deity Master-of-the-August-Centre-of-Heaven, next the High-August-Producing-Wondrous Deity, next the Divine-Producing-Wondrous Deity. These three Deities were all born alone, and hid their persons. The names of the Deities that were born next from a thing that sprouted up like unto a reed-shoot when

¹² Since these lines were penned the writer accidentally met a very intelligent Buddhist priest with whom he had a long conversation. I was surprised when I heard from his lips the words: "The great evidence of the fast decay of Buddhism in Japan is its inability for a long time to give birth to a new sect (*shaha*!) New sects and new parties," he added, "are the life-roots of a religious organization!" He looked with considerable misgiving upon all recent movements for reunion both amongst Buddhist and Christian sects!

the earth, young and like unto floating oil, drifted about medusa-like, were the Pleasant-Reed-Shoot-Prince-Elder Deity, next the Heavenly-Eternally-Standing-Deity. These two Deities were likewise born alone, and hid their persons." This is a fair description of the celestial regions.

Next to this is the creation of the terrestrial regions, of which the *Kojiki*,¹⁸ at least its mythic part, does not recognize anything outside of Japan. It is thus described :—"Hereupon all the Heavenly Deities commanded the two Deities Izanagi and Izanami ordering them to make, consolidate, and give birth to this drifting land, granting to them an heavenly jewelled spear. So the two Deities, standing upon the Floating Bridge of Heaven, pushed down the jewelled spear and stirred with it, whereupon, when they had stirred the brine till it went curdle-curdle, and drew (the spear) up, the brine that dripped down from the end of the spear was piled up and became an island. This is the Island of Onagors." This Island being as the future base of operation for the two gods, then follows the birth or creation of the different islands and deities by them.

The Chinese have still preserved certain mythological cosmogonies which possess great resemblance to those contained in the *Kojiki*. The greatest and perhaps the most interesting of all is that of *Pwanku*. It says : "The dual powers were fixed when the primeval chaos separated. Chaos is bubbling turbid water, which enclosed and mingled with the dual powers, like a chick *ni awo*, but when their offspring *Pwanku* appeared their distinctiveness and operations were apparent. *Pwan* means a "basin," referring to the shell of the egg, *ku* means 'solid' "to secure" intending to show how the first man *Pwanku* was hatched from the chaos by the dual powers, and then settled and exhibited the arrangement of the causes which produced

¹⁸ The *Kojiki* Sect. I. Prof. Chamberlain's translation.

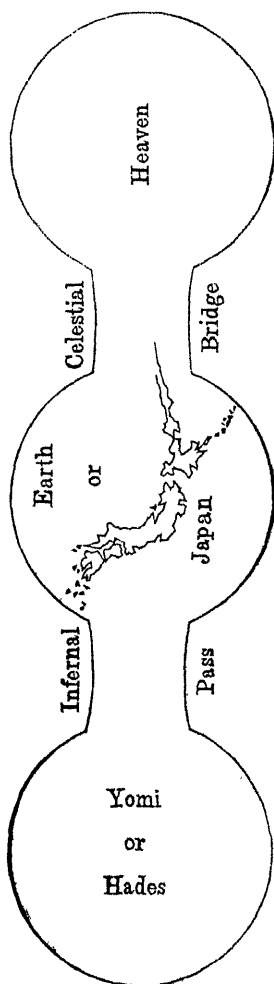
him. Pwanku is pictured as holding a chisel and mallet in his hands, splitting and fashioning vast masses of granite floating confusedly in space. Behind the openings his powerful hand has made are seen the sun, moon, and stars, the monuments of his stupendous labours. At his right hand as inseparable companions of his toils, but whose generation is left in obscurity, stand the dragon, the phoenix and the tortoise, and sometimes the unicorn, divine types and progenitors with himself of the animal creation. His efforts were continued eighteen thousand years, and by small degrees he and his work increased: the heavens rose, the earth spread out and thickened, and Pwanku grew in stature, six feet every day, till, his labours done, he died for the benefit of his handiwork. His head became mountains, his breath wind and clouds, and his voice thunder, his limbs were changed into the four poles, his veins into rivers, his sinews into the undulations of the earth's surface, and his flesh into fields, his beard was turned into stars, his skin and hair into herbs and trees, and his teeth, bones and marrow into metals, rocks and precious stones; his dropping sweat increased to rain, and lastly the insects which stuck to his body were transformed into people! "14

With the terrestrial world the Kojiki joins a nether world *yomi* which Mr. Chamberlain translates "Hades." The Professor quotes Motowori's definition of *yomi* as "an underworld, . . . the habitation of the dead, . . . the land whither, when they die, go all men, whether noble or mean, virtuous or wicked."

The celestial regions, according to the Kojiki are connected by means of a bridge *Ama-no-uki-hashī* (the floating-bridge-of-heaven) to the terrestrial sphere, and this latter by means of a Pass to the Hades, or infernal regions. The

¹⁴ William's Middle Kingdom, Vol. II. P. 139.

following chart of the Cosmōs, according to the Kojiki conception of it, is copied from a diagram drawn by one Motowori's disciples and approved by the Master.



Both the *ama* (heaven) and *tsuchi* (earth, Japan) according to the Kojiki theology are inhabited by some super-

human beings called *kami*, whose number is *yowo-yorozu*, *chi-yorozu*, eight hundred myriads, that is, infinite. I think the European scholars who have studied the subject are unanimous that the derivation and meaning of the word *kami* is "high," "above." Its application to these supernatural beings intended to convey the idea of the elevation and transcendence of their place and position, rather than to convey, denote and explain their nature and attributes. In later ages it was extensively used as a common title of the higher daimiōs and lords. *Ōmi-no-Kami* "the Lord of Ōmi," *Ichizen-no-Kami*, "the daimiō of Ichizen," etc. The idea of the exalted and elevated position of the Deity is not unknown, indeed it has been common to mankind in all ages. Semitic races to the present day have kept this noble though anthropomorphic thought, even in the monotheistic Judaism and Mahomedanism. One of the most common titles of the Supreme God in the Hebrew Books is *יְהוָה* *īleyou* "high," "elevated." The Arabic (*الله*) *allah taāla*, the "High God" is a phraseology remaining from the polytheistic Saheanism. In the ancient Chaldean and Assyrian religion (*ܐܝܠܐܝܬܐ*) "gods and goddesses" was the only expression by which these supernatural beings were known.

Of these beings the Kojiki, as already stated, gives the names of three : *Ame-no-minaka-nushi-no-kami* (Master-of-the-Centre-of-Heaven). *Taka-mi-musu-hi-no-kami* (High-Producing-Wondrous), and *Kami-musu-bi-no-kami* (Divine-Producing-Wondrous), as being born alone, and invisible in their persons. Professor Chamberlain following Motowori says in a note to his translation of the Kojiki : "All these came into existence without being procreated in the manner usual with both gods and men, and afterwards disappeared, i.e. died." The Japanese words are *kano mi hashira no kami wa mina hitori kami nari mashte, mi mi wo kakushi tamaiki*, which I understand to mean, that these three deities came into existence spontaneously and remained

always invisible. The words: *mi mi wo hakushi tamaiki*, "hid their persons" to me conveys the idea of their invisibility and not of their death as Professor Chamberlain thinks.

Next to these three follow two more. *Umashi-ashikahi-hiko-ji-no-kami* (Pleasant-Reed-Shoot-Prince-Elder-Deity), and *Ame-no-toko-tachi-no-kami* (Heavenly-Eternally-Standing-Deity). These two deities also, we are told, "were born alone, and hid their persons."

The difference, however, between the first three deities and the two latter, is not only that of the priority of existence in point of time, but also that of essence; as the former we are told came into existence at the beginning of heaven and earth, and we are not told out of what pre-existing and primeval essence. With all probability the original idea the author endeavoured to convey was that they existed before the Universe (*Ame-tsuchi*) came into visible being. While the latter two gods we are told "were born from a thing that sprouted out like unto a reed-shoot when the earth, young and like unto floating oil, drifted about medusa-like."

The five deities, however, the author tells us are "separate Heavenly Deities."

Considerable discussion, concerning the origin and functions of these five gods in the Japanese pantheon, has appeared. Professor Chamberlain summarising them in his able introduction to the *Kojiki* translation says: "How glaringly different all this (that is, the *Kojiki* myths) is from the fanciful accounts of *Shintō* that have been given by some recent popular writers, calls for no comment. Thus one of them, whom another quotes as an authority tells us that *Shintō* consists in the belief that the productive ethereal spirit being expanded through the whole universe, every part is in some degree impregnated with it, and therefore every part is in some measure the seat of the deity; whence local gods and goddesses are every-

where worshipped, and consequently multiplied without end. Like the ancient Romans and Greeks they acknowledge a Supreme Being, the first, the supreme, the intellectual, by which men have been reclaimed from rudeness and barbarism to elegance and refinement, and been taught through privileged men and women, not only to live with more comfort, but to die with better hopes." Again the learned savant tells us that "European writers having a tincture of knowledge of Japanese mythology, tell us of original Dualities, Trinities, and Supreme Deities, without so much as pausing to notice that the only two authorities in the matter,—viz., the "Records" (Kojiki) and the "Chronicles" (Nihongi)—differ most gravely in the lists they furnish of the primary gods. If the present writer ventured to throw out a suggestion where so many random assertions have been made, it would be to the effect that the various abstractions which figure at the commencement of the "Records" and of the "Chronicles" were probably later growths, and perhaps indeed were inventions of individual priests." However, the fact is that we *do* have "Dualities" and "Trinities" in the early Japanese mythology as preserved in the Kojiki, and it is for us to find the source from which it emanated. To say with Mr. Chamberlain "were probably later growths, and perhaps, indeed mere inventions of individual priests," that also after saying the Japanese as a race are "so little given to metaphysical speculation at all times of their history," seems to me to be a very unsatisfactory explanation. The generation of the gods of a nation is not the "invention of individual priests:" it is either borrowed from some other neighbouring nation, or it is the outgrowth of the national consciousness. I agree with Mr. Chamberlain that the various abstractions which figure at the commencement of the "Records" and the "Chronicles," were not produced by the early Japanese; the early Japanese had not developed yet that faculty, which from the visible

phenomena reaches the invisible naumena; they must have been produced or borrowed later, after the nation once more came in contact with the Continental Civilization. In my opinion the whole of the first section of the Kojiki, and the first part of section II. which deals with all the unmarried gods, has an Indian origin, and must have been adopted into the Shintō pantheon after the introduction of Buddhism, and is not as Professor Chamberlain states the "mere invention of individual priests."

Next to the five heavenly Deities, we descend to the terrestrial regions for the generation of the earthly Deities. These latter although being born in the lower regions, possess as much authority in the Divine Agora as the former gods. Indeed the five heavenly gods hardly appear at all in the succeeding pages of the Kojiki. Of these earthly gods, the first two, *Kuni-no-toko-tachi*, "Earthly-Eternally-Standing" and *Toyo-kumo-nu*, "Luxuriant-Integrating-Master," were born alone and were invisible. Next to these two follow five gods and five goddesses as their wives. The fifth god of this order is the famous Izanagi and his younger sister (*imo*) Izanami, who became his wife, to whom was entrusted by the heavenly Deities the onerous duty of "to make, consolidate and give birth to this drifting land," *i.e.* Japan.

However, if we study deeply the early Japanese mythology as it has come down to us in the primitive literature of the nation, it is manifest that the gods enumerated above, as in the succeeding pages of the Kojiki, do not exhaust the infinite number, *chi-yorozu*, of the deities of the Japanese pantheon. Hence we are constrained to think that the early Japanese deified every phenomenon tangible or intangible which affected their sense-perception.

After Izanagi and Izanami produced quite a large number of children both male and female, the time for the latter to retire arrived, and the husband remaining alone gave birth like the above mentioned Pwanku of the Chinese

mythology, to whom he has considerable resemblance, some more gods and goddesses. He then said to himself: "I begetting child after child, have at my final begetting gotten three illustrious children." Then at once jinglingly taking off and shaking the jewel-string forming his august necklace he bestowed it on the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity (Ama-terasu) saying: 'Do Thine Augustness rule the Plain-of-High-Heaven.' With this charge he bestowed it on her. Next he said to His Augustness-Moon-Night-Possessor (Tsuki-yomi) 'Do Thine Augustness rule the Dominion of the Night.' Next he said to His-Brave-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness: 'Do Thine Augustness rule the Sea Plain.' "

In describing this action of the passing of authority and hegemony to the children by Izanagi, the Kojiki and Manyōshu versions radically differ from each other. In the Kojiki, as we have seen the authority is conveyed by the supreme power of the father to his last born three children. While in the Manyōshu the gods all assemble in the bed of the Heavenly River, and after long deliberation commission Amaterasu to rule the Plain-of-High-Heaven.

After the descent of Soo-Sana-no-Ō to the terrestrial world, and the increase of the number of the ruling deities upon earth down to the time of the ascent of Jimmu upon the throne of Yamato, the Kojiki is nothing but a complicated panorama of all kinds of struggles and battles between the heavenly deities and earthly deities part of the time; and afterward the struggle commences between the earthly deities and earthly men, and in many cases the latter come out of their battles with their supernatural opponents quite victorious.

The gods of the Kojiki seem to have a well-organized Parliament which met from time to time whenever a perplexing problem occurred. Most of the serious problems necessitating the summoning of the Agora were connected, more or less, with the government of Japan. From the

Kojiki records it is clear that the theocratic government of the Japanese Empire was just as unsatisfactory and unstable as the present constitutional system ; and the divine Beings governing it were changed with the same rapidity and speed that its cabinets are to-day.

One thing which strikes us as very peculiar in the Japanese theogony is the absence of all headship or Sovereignty in the great pantheon. We have a pretty good idea of the Council, and a crude picture of the meeting-place. The deliberations and proceedings of the divine Parliament are roughly given to us. But we are not told who summons the Agora, nor who presides over it. Although Izanagi for a little while manages the affairs alone and installs his three children over these most important dominions of the Universe, he suddenly disappears and we hear no more from or about him. Nor is Amaterasu invested with Supreme Authority to be the sole Ruler of the heavenly family. Indeed when her younger brother commits ravages upon her property she is absolutely helpless, and as a last resort appeals to the Divine Council for justice and invokes its assistance.

This is one of the most striking differences between the Japanese and Greek mythology. In the Greek myths Zeus stands unapproachably above all the rest :

“ All have their lot appointed,
Save to reign
In heaven, for liberty is
Jan’s alone.”

Again :—

Never, never may my Soul
Jan’s all-ruling power defy ;
Never feel his harsh control,
Sovereign ruler of the sky.”

In the Greek mythology we can plainly see the whole career of Zeus from his youth up to the highest supremacy

of the divine hierarchy, just as we plainly see all the movements and progress of Bonaparte from his Corsican hamlet to the supreme command of the French army and the French Empire. Or like the upward ascent of an energetic and pushing young politician from an obscure position to the leadership of a great party in the modern constitutional countries of Europe and America. It was left to the genius of the Greek poets and dramatists to paint this struggle for supremacy with that unsurpassable comprehensiveness and faithful minuteness that has forever made Greek poetry a perfect model for depicting all the impulses and aspirations which eternally flow and overflow out of that exhaustless fountain commonly termed human ambition. In these divine struggles we see not only brute force employed but also plots, machinations and all those subtle arts without which physical force fails to reach its end in a republican state :

“ That not by violence, that not by power,
But gentle arts, the royalty of heaven
Must be obtained : ” —

The poet here is not, we should remember, portraying the real world of the gods, a sphere of activity far beyond and above his mortal comprehension ; but it is a real picture of the political world of the different branches of the Greek nation ; the eternal movements of the Hellenic life and thought during their fierce struggles with tyranny which they themselves were creating. Human actions almost always have reflex consequences. Oftentimes we reap from our actions the results which we were opposing. Mankind is an inseparable mixture of divinity and deviltry. And in trying to picture his own thoughts and ideas, at the same time he soars to the highest realms of good and beauty, or plunges to the bottom of ugliness and darkness. Greek poetry and drama are a great panorama of the manifestations of the impulses and ambitions of both sub-

lime and base natures which man embosoms in himself. The deep intellect and soaring imagination happily combined together in the Greek and succeeded in producing that vast world of thought which is nothing but a successful inversion, so to speak, of the interior man; so that we can see him plainly. The literature of all other ancient nations have failed to do this successfully—for every nation possessing what we call literature has attempted it. In later times we find this gift combined once more in the almost superhuman genius of Shakespeare, more recently a feeble attempt to reach those transcendent heights was made by Goethe.

The Mongolian imagination, however, has never been able to reach those attitudes to which the Aryan imagination has been accustomed to lead us. This is especially true in the case of literature, whether Chinese or Japanese. In art Japanese genius has produced, and indeed created, some very noble types of loveable beauty from which we cannot separate ourselves. But in literature Japan has created nothing ideally perfect that possesses that inherent power of attraction to which we everlastingly attach ourselves. Because in the world of thought and art there exist some living divine types from which we cannot sever ourselves, or disrupt our feelings, whenever they are found, whether in the pagan or Christian realms. The most refined Greek imagination depicted the national gods and goddesses as so exalted and powerful or so ideally beautiful that he did not for a moment demur paying them divine worship although he knew perfectly well that they were by no means above human criticism in respect to their common ideas of virtue. Everyone knows that Jove is a pitiless, immoral and reckless tyrant, and that his

“ Relentless rage no tender pity knows,”

still they worshipped the tyrant because they feared him,

and diligently strove to avoid his wrath and vengeance. They knew that

“ Of iron is he formed and adamant,
Whose breast with social sorrow does not melt.”

still they were aware that to resist him was to

“ Kick against the pricks.”

It is so with all the rest of the gods. Each one was invested by the poets' soaring fancy with some transcendent virtue or gift that irresistibly attracted the worshipper towards his person. It was this element in the Greco-Roman paganism that enabled it to struggle with Christianity for centuries, and prolonged its final disappearance.

In the Japanese theogony such elements are totally absent. Its anthropomorphism is of the crudest kind. With the exception of Amaterasu—the sun-goddess—who has some light and fleeting virtues and attractions, the rest are simply the *alter ego* of the chiefs and rulers of those semi-savage nomadic tribes which even to the presentday wander over that vast expanse of territory lying in the North-Himalayan regions. Izanagi is, perhaps, their best representative. He, after all, amongst the male gods, is the grandest and most captivating figure. Both as husband and father he displays not inconsiderable tenderness and affection. He is overcome by the death of his dear sister-wife, and is inconsolable, and creeps around her pillow and feet and weeps bitterly. And after her descent into Hades he undertakes the hazardous journey to pay her a visit. Again when the time for him to retire from the hegemony of the visible world arrives, like a provident and wise monarch, a good prototype of the great Iyeyasu, he appoints three of his last born children as his substitute to that responsible position. If Izanagi had been a Greek deity, the Greek poet and dramatist would have made him one of the greatest gods which the pagan

antiquity has left us ; but in the hands of Juto-no-Yasumaro he remain a crude, unrefined, unpolished, unattractive and ungainly savage. He has sentiments and passions to a marked degree, but they remain an undefineable mixture of childishness and savagery. He is drowned in his own tears and emotions when he sees the cold body of his departed wife ; but immediately his sorrow changed to rage he cuts off the head of the innocent infant who had been the unwilling cause of the premature death of Izanami. He is anxious that his children, before his approaching death, should be securely established in their several dominions ; but turns out and dispossesses of his rightful patrimony, the most valiant and bravest of all, for no crime but simply because his filial affections moved him to visit his beloved mother. To what greatness and grandeur would have Izanagi attained if his apotheosis was perfected by the hands of the Greek Æschylus, instead of the Japanese Juto-no-Yasumaro !

Before we close the subject of the Kojiki theogony the question arises were ever the present Japanese a monotheistic nation ? The conception of the supreme and abstract powers of the universe as we find them in the records of the national antiquity, does not warrant us to answer this grave and complicated question affirmatively. In a nation at the very lowest step of the ladder of civilization, when the ideas of numbers and persons are obscure and hazy, and when all abstract reasoning and meditation is not yet born, nor cultivated, it would be doubly difficult to perceive and find out whether at the background of all this gross and crude polytheism there was not lying hidden an ultimate dormant belief in a single Supreme Ruler of the visible phenomena whose accidents and manifestations of power and attributes were deified and metamorphosed with a child-like simplicity and trustfulness, as it has been claimed to be the case with the most advanced polytheistic nations of the remote antiquity.

In the Manyōshu I have seen one poem, at least, which sounds to our ears more like the monotheistic Hebrew psalms than like the utterances of a people governed by the puerile thoughts of the Kojiki polytheism :—

“ *Ō Umi no nami wa kushikoshi,
Shikaredomo,
Kami wo iwa-yitte, fime deseba,
I-kani !* ”

“ O how terrible the Ocean waves are !
While trusting God if you sail your vessel,
what fear ! ”

In this short, but beautiful, verse, we see encased all that unlimited confidence and trust, in the hour of great danger, upon that transcendent Power who is the Supreme Governor of the visible universe, in whose one small corner we humankind are temporary sojourners. Upon this great, though simple, idea both religion and monotheism are founded.

In the development of the idea of the *kami* in Japanese polytheism we can see, I think, three very distinct successive stages of evolution. The first one is the extremely crude and rudimentary polytheism of the early colonists as we find it in the Kojiki. This must have been the belief of the primitive ancestors of the present Japanese while in a nomadic and migratory state of existence: vestiges of it can still be found, though greatly modified, in the modern Central Asian Kalmooks. Mr. Chamberlain suggests that the different myths collected in the Kojiki and Nihongi might have emanated from different and alien sources, and lack the homogeneity of origin. This is quite a reasonable suggestion. There is a very strong possibility that each myth, and every individual god, or rather group of gods, belonged to a separate tribe, just as we find in the Vedic Age of the Aryan race. The Rik Veda also is a harmonious collection of the poems

of the different ancient Aryan families: their abstract beliefs, and concrete rites. But while there was, undoubtedly, a marked heterogeneity of the exterior observances, meanwhile at the bottom we can plainly see an ultimate national religious homogeneity. Even in the early Japanese myths and poems we can perceive that some families had separate domestic gods to whom they paid, or thought they were bound to pay more attention and worship. Thus one poet sings in the Manyōshu.

“*Waga matsuru kami ni wa arazu,
Masurawo ni tometaru kami zo
yoku matsuru beki.*”

“He (a certain individual god) is not the god to whom I pay my allegiance; that god (i.e. the one whom I worshipped) must be faithfully worshipped.”

In the early Japanese religion also, in my opinion, beneath the external diversities there existed a harmonious unity constituting the foundation and substratum of the whole national life and thought; and though the different myths influenced different localities, still they had the national sanction and authority.

The second stage of development is the centralization of authority and dominion in the pantheon, as far as the government of Japan is concerned—in the person of the Sun goddess—Amaterasu. The worship of the Sun, and, to a lesser degree, that of the Moon, is quite natural to the early, though a little advanced, stage of humankind. The savage is governed and controlled more by the fear which the objective phenomena inspire in him, than by a reflex contemplation of the sublime beauty of natures. Hence the worship of terror and awe-striking elements, thunder, lightning, clouds, rain, as a matter of fact, will precede the worship of sun and moon. Hence Heliolatriy almost always in the history of human race, is found an established cult amongst the races considerably advanced

in the scale of civilization. We find it in Assyria and Babylonia, in Arabia and Egypt, in Mexico and India ; but seldom, if ever, amongst the lowest strata of the savage tribes and races wherever we go.

In Japan, as already stated, before Izanagi retired from the government of the visible universe, he entrusted the government of the firmament to his daughter Amaterasu (Heaven-Shining) and that of the night to the Moon. Amaterasu hereafter participates, to a certain degree, with the government of Japan also beside that of the firmament. But from the Manyōshu we learn more that both sun and moon, as dual deities, had very extensive worship amongst the primitive Japanese colonists in the early days after their arrival here. We read many places in Yamato and elsewhere consecrated to the lunar and solar gods. In one place we read :—

“ Tsuki hi, futa kami no tōtoki yama.”

“ The honoured mountain of the two gods—

Sun and Moon.”

The greatest Shintō Shrine in Japan, before which even at this approaching end of the nineteenth century, thousands of pilgrims of every class and estate, rich and poor, high and low, prostrate themselves, stands an innumerable monument of the imperishableness of the religious instinct of mankind. As the Yamada Jinsha, the greatest in Japan, was dedicated to the solar god, likewise the second in rank, that of Kasuga in the province of Yamato, in my opinion, was originally erected to the worship of the lunar god. The patron god of the Kasuga shrine is represented in the early Japanese paintings as riding upon the new moon's disk just emerging from the beautiful hill of Mikasayama. It is to this sacred hill that even now people resort on certain nights to catch the first glimpse of the gorgeous and resplendent

night-goddess slowly ascending in the height of her glory, and at whose sight every worshipper will slowly intone :—

*Ama no hura furi sake mireba,
Kasuga naru Mikasa no yama ni
ideshi tsuki kamo."*

"On every side the vaulted sky
I view : now will the moon have peered,
I trow, above Mikasa high
In Kasuga's far-off land upreared."

The worship of these two great luminaries has continued amongst Japanese, just as it has continued amongst the ignorant classes of the Catholic descendants of the Incas. Moreover we can see the memory of their existence perpetuated in the national banners,¹⁵ which everywhere are the immortal witnesses and emblems of the old thoughts and conceptions which once swayed over the hearts of the long-ago forgotten humanity. The use in China of the sun and moon on banners as emblems of sovereignty dates as far back as in the beginning of the second millennium before Christ. "As the Sun," says a modern Chinese writer, quoted by Mayer, "directs and symbolizes the sovereign ruler, so the Moon is an emblem and director of his consorts and ministers. The Emperor is said to "call the sun his elder brother, and the moon his sister." It is not improbable that this form of exalted Sabeanism was commonly practiced amongst the early, so called, Turanian races of North Asia; and its memory though greatly altered and enfeebled by force of new ideas continually germinating and affiliating themselves with it; it has been preserved still to the present day, by different means in the different branches of the great family.

¹⁵ See Mr. Aston on the National Flag of Japan, P. of A. S. J. for Nov. 8th, 1893.

The third and last stadium of this theological evolution was Hero-Worship, that is the worship of the tribal Ruler or Magnate, which eventually, when the centralization of the Colonial political institutions began gradually gravitating and finally absorbed themselves in the Yamato hegemony, culminated in the Imperial religious cultus. The religious susceptibilities of the pastoral and migratory people are governed more by the awe, fear and respect of the transcendent manifestations of nature, more than by the dread of one of their own number, whatever his social position. The tent is not a favourable seminary for the development of anthropotheistic theology. The deification of our fellow-man must be contrived in places impenetrable to the human observation. When the tribal Ruler just like the other members of his troop is compelled to travel from place to place in search after the means of his own and his family's subsistence ; and is exposed, just like the rest, to all the hazards and dangers of the journey, and its daily fatigue, it is quite improbable to exalt such a being to the high rank of divinities. No ! Anthropomorphism is the outgrowth of a more advanced stage of humanity—namely, that of the agricultural. It is not, then, against the teaching and procedure of the science of comparative religions to think that the Hero-Worship of Japanese Shintōism grew gradually after the colonists had firmly established themselves in the new country, and had substituted the Palace (miya) for the tent (maku), when the Chief could retire and become totally invisible to the curious gaze of the common rustics. The Reader of the *Manyōshū* will not fail seeing this process of the gradual elevation of the Chief to the divine rank. *Waga Ō Kami* (Our Great Lord) is addressed with titles and proseologies that fall nothing short of those used in addressing the real divinities—heavenly or earthly. When the idea of the greatness and potency of the Chief has reached such a climax, it is nothing hard to the human nature to ascribe his remote ancestry

to some heavenly wanderer straying upon our planet. Naturally and most logically, the genealogy of the Head-Chief, if there was any, would be ascribed to the most favourite god; and in Japan it is ascribed to Ama-terasu, the Sun-goddess, who, as we have stated above, must have been the national patron Deity before the introduction of Buddhism in the latter part of the fifth century. In such a case both the Emperor and the Sun-goddess would keep their respective positions, the former would act as the incarnate representative, and the sole viceregent of the latter; just as we find in the Mexican heathenism, when the Emperor was not only the lineal descendent of the Sun-god, but also his visible human substitute.

As antithetic to the virtuous celestial beings, almost every religion, ancient and modern, has some superhuman personages of an evil intent, vested with supernatural power and attributes diligently acting against and ceaselessly trying to displace the moral order of the universe. The natural conception of the origin of the idea of evil spirits, just like that of evil spirits, and just like that of good ones, is two-fold, namely, first, in man's own nature, and in the second place, in that very mixed moral order of the universe itself. We have stated before that man is constituted equally out of divinity and diabolism; is it surprising then that he sees, as in a mirror, his own thoughts and individuality reflected in every object passing before him? The disturbance of the moral order of the universe, however, is an objective reality, and not a fantasmal dream of our turbulent inner souls. Has not humanity from Job to Zoroaster and down to Goethe given an unbroken chain of testimony to this reality? Undoubtedly the devil of the primitive Japanese religion depicted in the Kojiki does not possess the same order of attenuated capabilities and attributes as that of the Schaahnen, but there he is, and we can recognize his black face the instant we see it.

Perhaps the greatest passage of the Kojiki which sheds considerable light upon diverse eschatological ideas of the primitive Japanese, is that of Izanagi visiting his wife Izanami after her demise, in the Land of Hades : " So when from the palace (of Hades) she raised the door and came out to meet him, Izanagi spoke, saying, ' O my lovely wife, the lands that I and thou made are not yet finished making, so come back.' Then Izanami answering said, ' Lamentable indeed that thou camest not sooner ! I have heard of the furnace of Hades. Nevertheless, as I reverence the entry of my lovely husband, I wish to return. Moreover, I will discuss it particularly with the deities of Hades (*yomo-tsu-kami*). Look not at me !' Having thus spoken, she went back inside the palace ; and as she tarried very long, he could not wait. So having taken and broken off one of the end teeth of the multitudinous and close-toothed comb stuck in the left bunch of his hair, he lit light and went in and looked. Maggots were swarming and she was rattling, and in her head dwelt the Great-Thunder, in her breast dwelt the Fire-Thunder, in her belly dwelt the Black-Thunder, in her private parts dwelt the Cleaning-Thunder, in her left hand dwelt the Young-Thunder, in her right hand dwelt the Earth-Thunder, in her left foot dwelt the Rumbling-Thunder, in her right foot dwelt the Couchant-Thunder :— Altogether eight Thunder-Deities had been born and dwelt there. Hereupon Izanagi overawed at the sight, fled back, whereupon his wife Izanami said : ' Thou has put me to shame.' And at once sent the Ugly-Female-of-Hades to pursue him. So Izanagi took his black head-dress and cast it down, and it instantly turned into grapes. While she picked them up and ate them, he fled on ; but as she still pursued him, he took and broke the multitudinous and close-toothed comb and cast it down, and it instantly turned into bamboo-sprouts. While she pulled them up and ate them, he fled on. Again later his

wife sent the eight Thunder-Deities with a thousand and five hundred warriors of Hades to pursue him. So he, drawing the ten-grasp sword that was girded on him, fled forward brandishing it behind him; and as they still pursued, he took, on reaching the base of the Even Pass of Hades, peaches that were growing at its base, and waited, and smote his pursuers, so that all fled back. Last of all his wife came out herself in pursuit. So he drew a thousand draft-rock, and blocked up the Pass of Hades, and placed the rock in the middle; and they stood opposite to one another and exchanged leave-takings. Izanami said "my lovely husband, if thou do like this, I will in one day strangle to death a thousand of the folks of thy land!" To which Izanagi replied: "My lovely wife, if thou do this, I will in one day set up a thousand and five hundred parturition houses. In this manner each day a thousand people would surely die, and each day a thousand and five hundred people would surely be born." So Izanami is called the Great-Deity-of-Hades." I think we would not be led astray greatly, if in this curious legend of the terrible encounter between Izanagi and Izanami, backed by immense forces, in the subterranean regions of Hades, we were to distinguish a faint and dim picture of the battle between Ormuzd and Ahrimanean of the well defined Persian dualism, which so forcibly depicts that universal war between virtue and vice in which the whole conscious Cosmos is fiercely engaged. In later ages when Shintoism came into contact with and was surrounded on every side by Buddhism, Confucianism and, perhaps, Taoism, it developed a better organized daemonology: Onis Bake-monas and all sorts of ghosts and evil spirits were introduced into its gradually expanding and increasing satanic hierarchy. However, the eight Thunder-Gods remained forever like the Greek Furies, the sole and inexorable executioners, to inflict punishment upon sinful man, and to chase the guilty.

. . . "O'er the long tract
Of continent, and o'er th' extended ocean.
Swift as the flying ship." . . .

From the very conditions and circumstances surrounding the primitive Japanese, we must not expect to find a well-organized priesthood with highly-developed and firmly established religious rites and observances similar to those we find amongst the early Semitic races of Mesopotamia and the progressive Egyptians. The present well-regulated Shintō priesthood, with the different ranks of Kami-Nushi must have been perfected in imitation of the Buddhist priesthood. In the *Manyōshū* we read often about *Miya-Bito* (The Shrine-men, or simply palace-men) but from these incomplete sporadic phrases we can learn positively nothing about their real functions in the *Miya*; whether they were religious or secular; and whether they served in a priestly capacity, or were simply Court attendants. With all probability wherever a Lord or Deity (Kami) resided some special men were attached to his person who performed the very simple rites and ordinances of the nascent religion. In imitation of the local Kami (Deity) it is not improbable that the head of each family also served, to a certain degree, in a priestly capacity to those under his parental jurisdiction, like the head of families of the Vedic Aryans, and not unsimilar to the modern Ainus. Their religious rites and ceremonies, as already stated, must have been very few and very crude. We read about no sacrificial system in the early Japanese religion, when the blood of one innocent victim is considered a satisfactory atoning substitute for the guilty. However, with all probability, each and every worshipper and subject brought to the *Miya* for presentation to the resident Kami some of the best and choicest of his valuables, not unlike the Hebrew Thanks and Peace Offerings. The cruel and inhuman custom of burying alive the

servants with the dead Kami, which was abolished after the introduction of more beneficent continental religions, was quite widely practiced. Perhaps it arose from the crude conceptions which the primitive Japanese had about the connection between the celestial and terrestrial regions, and the omnipotent power and anxious desire of the retired Kami in travelling to the higher spheres to be attended by his servants and courtiers. Do we not see a purified continuation of this habit in the self-effacement and devotion of the later Samurai to his Lord, and the loyal promptitude with which he gave himself to save the honour of his Daimio ? ¹⁶

Shintoism at present possesses many prayers and rituals (Norito) very old. Some of them, Sir Ernest Satow whose indefatigable labours in this field, in fact in every thing Japanese ancient and modern, are characterized by erudition and mature scholarship, thinks to be about a millenium old. However, these also, in my opinion,

¹⁶ I must say that I see no inconsiderable similarity, if not original affinity, between this barbarous custom of the Hara Kiri and its influence after its abolition upon the loyalty of the military classes, the Samurai, and the widow-burning in India. The following poem by the Roman poet Propertius B. C. 51, in praise of the courage of the widow, is not inapplicable, in its spirit, to the loyalty of the warrior.

“ Happy the laws, that in those climes obtain,
Where the bright morning reddens all the main;
There, whenso'er the happy husband dies,
And on the funeral couch extended lies,
His faithful wives around the scene appear,
With pompous dress and a triumphant air;
For partnership in death, ambitions strive,
And dread the shameful fortune to survive!
Adorned with flowers the lovely victims stand,
With smiles ascend the pile, and light the brand!
Grasp their dear partners with unaltered faith,
And yield exulting to the fragrant death ! ”

were produced and created by some individual Shintō-priests after the introduction of Buddhism. We have no records of the struggles and battles of these two religions; but judging from the history of the religious feuds and wars everywhere, especially in the Roman Empire, that between Paganism and Christianity, we might without stepping outside the premises of probability assert that Shintōism did not yield at once the ground which she had occupied unchallenged for ages. She tried to defend herself with valour, knowing it was a mortal struggle. For this purpose she borrowed as many weapons as she could, from her aggressive opponent, and from elsewhere. She organized an ideal hierarchy. She created new prayers and supplications in a language which every one could understand, having contents which would move every patriotic heart. She adopted, to a certain extent, Buddhist architecture and expanded her shrines. She endeavoured to illustrate the sublimity and historical reality of the old religion in the persons of its historical heroes and gods, past and present; in strong contrast with the legendary and evanescent saints of mystical Buddhism. To accomplish this purpose Shintōism adopted painting, as soon as this form of religious teaching was brought into Japan by the early Buddhist monks. I think both the Kasuga and Tosa schools of painting were purely Shinto in their origin, and were inaugurated to combat the new creed. Indeed they compelled even the atheistic Buddhism to admit into her pantheon of Saints and Buddhas some of the national gods and heroes of Japan.

Judging from the Kojiki and the latter Rituals (Norito) the early Japanese must have been extensively devoted to the practice of divination and sorcery. The usual method was to burn a deer's shoulder-blade, and from the crackling noise produced during its consumption the augurs foretold the fortunes of their dupes. It is very curious to know that this mode of fortune-

telling, and especially of exorcism though long ago, as far as the writer knows, forgotten in Japan, is extensively used at present, with a little modification, amongst the Western Asiatic Turks, and from them transplanted into most of the non-Turkish Mohamedan nations. Now the shoulder-blade of a sheep or goat is used instead of that of a deer. It is not improbable that originally it was that of the goat (yagi 羊 the Chinese character representing the animal occurs so often in their ideographic system showing that they were a pastoral race), but when the early Japanese colonists entered the country not finding that useful animal, they substituted the deer in its place—a very appropriate substitute indeed. If you visit a butcher either in Turkey or Persia you will see him before throwing away the blade always mark it twice or three times with his knife lest it should be picked up and used for auguring purposes, as the blade must be absolutely without any injury or scar. At present the prayers are written upon the blade, then consumed by fire, and by its efficacy, it is thought, it will go and harm the enemy and benefit the friend; and if the prayers are recited repeatedly by the performer during the burning of the blades they are considered doubly efficacious.

Did the primitive Japanese possess very clear and definite ideas of the immortality of the soul and a future retribution, when every individual human being would receive rewards or punishments according to the good or bad actions committed during his earthly life? While none of the ancient Japanese books or documents fortunately preserved to us amply and definitely answer this important question one way or the other, still from the very fundamental ideas which they entertained about heaven and earth and the nether regions, and the inseparable associations of men with the Kami, out of which, in my opinion, the cruel funeral custom, referred

to above, of burying alive a Lord's (Kami) attendants and servants with him at his death sprang up, we are constrained to think that they *did* believe in the prolongation of the human being after the termination of his earthly life. But the Paradise of the early and almost semi-savage Altaic races is a very different locality from that of the Apocalypse of St. John the Divine; and the people who are admitted into it are not given the same kind of magnificent reception, which the prolific and highly-soaring imagination of the Puritan Bunyan has given to Christian and Christiana and their associates. To the Japanese mind and imagination Japan, as a place of residence, was far superior to heaven, and its inhabitants a far more desirable society than those living in the transcendent regions. We see that every god who is sent from heaven to Japan on some important business by the divine Agora marries, and is utterly unwilling to go back once more to the place from which he descended.

Hell also is not the same horrible fiery furnace which the terrible intellect of the great Florentine has portrayed as the place where

. "Various tongues,
Horrible languages, outcries of woe,
Accents of anger, voices deep and hoarse,
With hands together smote that swell'd the
sounds,
Made up a tumult, that forever whirls
Round through that air with solid darkness
stained,

Like to the sand that in the whirlwind flies."

And over the gate of such a place of torment with immortal letters, so that the wretched denizens could plainly read, and everlastingly read and remember, he wrote:—

"All hope abandon ye who enter here."

To the early Japanese *yomi* (sheol) was neither so very hot, nor need all those who entered there abandon all future hope of release. One thing, however, is quite clear in the Kojiki records namely, in contrast with heaven and Japan, *Hell* is not a very desirable place for human habitation. The story of Izanagi's visit, as given above, plainly shows that it should be avoided as much as possible. We read further on in the same story, that after his escape Izanagi knows that he has visited a dirty place and says: "Nay! hideous! I have come to a hideous and polluted land, so I will perform the purification of my person. So he went out to a plain, at a small river mouth near Tachibana Himuku in (the island) of Tsukushi, and purified and cleansed himself." This conception of Hades and its inhabitants in contrast with that of the early Latin and Greek ideas of the place, strikes us as more developed and having a Semitic origin. "The departed souls of mortal men, the "good," (*manes*), says Professor Mommsen, "continued to exist as shades haunting the spot where the body reposed (*dii inferi*), and received meat and drink from the survivors. But they dwelt in the depths beneath, and there was no bridge that led from the lower world either to men ruling on earth, or upward to the gods above."¹⁷ Thus also Electra invoking the assistance of Mercury to avenge the murder of her innocent father says:—

"O thou, that to the realms beneath the earth
Guidest the dead, be present, Mercury."

Then immediately turning to the *manes* of her dead father says:—

"And thee, my father, pouring from this vase,
Libations to thy shade, on thee I call."

¹⁷ History of Rome Vol. I. P. 226.

O pity me, pity my dear Orestes.
 Be thou to us, my father, with the gods,
 This earth, and pow'ful justice, be to us,
 That breathe this vital air, a guide to good.
 With these libations such the vows I offer.
 Now let your sorrows flow : attune the pæan,
 And soothe his shade with solemn harmony."

In regard to future recompense and retribution also we are left in total darkness, as the comprehension of this recondite subject by the early Japanese was as hazy and indistinct as that of the whole ancient ethic world. The real cause of Izanami's descent and residence in the *yomi* is not given. The other heavenly or earthly deities when they retire or die ascend again to the higher regions. With all probability this exceptional case of Izanami was added to the legend from some other source, and throws not inconsiderable light upon the eschatalogical beliefs of the North-Himalayan civilized races. I think we shall not be led astray from the truth to any extent, if we think the early Japanese also like the ancient Greeks and Romans had not formulated any satisfactory dogmas in regard to a future state and the condition of man in it; and that they believed the gods were always kind to the virtuous, propitious towards the repentant, and revengeful upon the obstinate sinner. In regard to this great subject, so hopelessly veiled from our empirical observation, the position of the pagan world, I think, is fully and graphically illustrated in those awful and terror-striking words of the Shakespeare and prince of Greek tragic dramatists :—

"And shall man dare with impious voice t'approve
 Deeds that offend the powers above?
 Through the gored breast
 With rage imprest

The sword of justice hews the dreadful wound ;
And haughty might
That mocks at right,
Like the vile dust is trampled on the ground,
Righteous are the decrees, eternal King,
And from the roots of justice spring :
These shall strike deep, and flourish wide,
Whilst all that scorn them, perish in their pride.¹⁸

It was left to the genius of Christianity to infuse a living consciousness into all those doctrines and dogmas which the rest could only see imperfectly and dimly as in a glass.

In recapitulating this chapter on the religious ideas and life of the early Japanese, I might have ended it with the words of the illustrious philologist who in speaking on the religious ideas and feelings of the Vedic Aryans says : " But more surprising than the continuity in the growth of language, is the continuity in the growth of religion. Of religion, too, as of language, it may be said that in it everything new is old, and everything old is new, and that there has been no entirely new religion since the beginning of the world. The elements and roots of religion were there as far back as we can trace the history of man ; and the history of religion, like the history of language, shows us throughout a succession of new combinations of the same radical elements. An intuition of God, a sense of human weakness and dependence, a belief in a Divine government of the world, a distinction between good and evil, and a hope of a better life,—these are some of the radical elements of all religions. Though sometimes hidden they rise again and again to the surface. Though frequently distorted, they tend again and again to their perfect form. Unless they had formed part of the original

¹⁸ Aeschylus the Choephorase.

dowry of the human soul, religion itself would have remained an impossibility, and the tongues of angels would have been to human ears but as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal.¹⁹

However, another not less illustrious thinker vehemently opposes the above view of the origin of religion in the ancient man as utterly unscientific. "Noting," says Mr. Herbert Spencer, "how the theological here hides the scientific, I may add that anyone who reads Mr. Gill's volume [*Myths and songs from the South Pacific*. London, 1876] and contemplates the many verifications it contains of the inference otherwise so amply supported, that ancestor-worship is the root of all religions, will be surprised to see how readily a foregone conclusion can find for itself support in a mass of evidence which to other readers will seem fatal to it."²⁰ The first part of the first volume of Mr. Spencer's *Principles of Sociology* is mainly devoted to this subject, viz. to prove that the origin of all religious is in ancestor-worship. It will be beyond the limits of possibility to give even a short summary of these 492 pages here. Mr. Spencer has laboured and hired persons to labour with and for him in collecting data from all the four corners of the universe to prove his theme. I must say, however, that, I cannot see nor understand, how out of this labyrinth of mixed facts, and this maze of contradictory data Mr. Spencer arrives at the conclusion that the cult of ancestor-worship is the origin of the primitive religious impulse in humanity, unless what he says about Max Muller, as cited above, is true concerning himself. The origin of ancestor-worship as practiced in China and Japan at present, is based upon filial piety and love, the element of fear, upon which most of the Darwinians base the

¹⁹ *Chips* by M. Muller Vol. I. Preface P. X.

²⁰ *Principles of Sociology* Vol. I. P. 819.

beginings of religion, has very little, if any, share in it. "The services of love and reverence to parents when alive," says the great Sage Confucius, "and those of grief and sorrow for them when dead:—these completely discharge the fundamental duty of living men." And the following prayer addressed by one of the Ming Emperors to the spirits of his ancestors will further illustrate one point:—"I think of you, my sovereign ancestors, whose glorious souls are in heaven. As from an overflowing fountain run the happy streams, such is the connection between you and your descendants. I, a distant descendant, having received the appointment (from heaven), look back and offer this bright sacrifice to you, the honoured ones from age to age, for hundreds of thousands and myriads of years." And again: "Now brightly manifested, now mysteriously hid, the movements of the spirits are without trace; in their imperial chariots they wander about, tranquil wherever they go. Their souls are in heaven; their tablets are in the rear apartment. Their sons and grandsons remember them with filial thoughts untiring." Notwithstanding all this, still Mr. Spencer cites the case of ancestor-worship in China as confirming his theory that: "*While the fear of the living becomes the root of the political control, the fear of the dead becomes the root of the religious control.*"²¹ Well might the soul of a dutiful Chinaman quake on reading that the origin of the motives which draw him before the ancestral shrine to prostrate himself in the presence of the spirits who have given him existence, and always hovering like the protecting clouds around him and are his house, is exactly of the same source as that of a wretched slave and sycophant throwing himself under the feet of a merciless tyrant or an unscrupulous demagogue!

²¹ Principles of Sociology Vol. I. P. 426.

The next or rather the first question in importance is whether anthropomorphism, or rather anthropotheism, is the origin of the idea of God, and consequently that of all religions, as Mr. Spencer maintains; or the idea of a Supreme Deity and all its concomitants is generated in the natural man (leaving aside for the present the question of a revealed religion), from the objective phenomena as they impress themselves in a regular, or irregular, order, upon his simple mind? I myself belong to the latter school of thought. It is, to me, utterly inconceivable how the savage could, even in the lowest stage of development, think that the tremendous voice and sound just produced by the thunder was that of his feeble old father who died yesterday, and who hardly could move or utter a word from his frailty and weakness. It is utterly inconceivable to me how the savage could attribute the supernatural activities of lightening to a human being, or as Mr. Spencer formulates it: "the universality of anthropomorphism has the sufficient cause that the divine man as *conceived*, had everywhere for antecedent a powerful man as *perceived*."²² It is completely unimaginable to me by what process of reasoning could the primitive savage think that rain and sunshine, prosperity and misfortune, life and death, are the regular and common actions of

• "a powerful man as perceived." That humankind have often, in the history of our race, deified their own fellow-men, I acquiesce; and that even amongst most civilized and advanced nations of the world the idea of God oftentimes has taken a very anthropomorphic shape, I readily accept. But I cannot, for a moment, accept the theory that ancestor-worship was the beginning of all religion, nor that theism was developed out of hero-worship. Previously I have shown that, in the

²² Principles of Sociology Vol. I. P. 409.

early history of the Japanese religious thought, anthropotheism, that is the deification of man, was a later growth; and that never the deified heroes reached the altitude of the great original gods. The former always remained as intermediary beings between the latter and humankind. And although the deified heroes, dead or living, on account of their immediate presence and sympathy with their fellow-men, were more worshipped and conciliated than the real gods, still the transcendent idea of the superiority of the latter never fell into total oblivion.

The same is the case, in my opinion, of all other ancient religions which have come down to us: Aryan or Semitic. The beginnings of religious feelings arise out of the impressions which the natural phenomena, in all their infinity of transformations and changes, engender in the mind of the natural man. He is compelled to believe that behind all this interminable activity there must, *a priori*, be some superhuman beings, governed by one Supreme Ruler, just as he sees daily in the society around him. In process of time this simple idea, through many extraneous accretions, grows into a complexity which only a civilized man can comprehend. In my opinion Mr. Spencer's ghosts, spirits, dreams, shadows, and ancestor-worship theories, attribute to the primitive savage a keen introspective and reflex ratiocinative faculty which he could not have possessed. He too much relies upon second-hand data brought to light by persons who could not have understood the savage; also very often in such distorted data "his forgone conclusion finds for itself support which to other readers seems fatal to it."

It is but logically fair to think that as the exterior of the life and living of the savage were affected by the objective phenomena surrounding him, likewise his interior and infant intellect were affected by those great phenomena transcending him? As the biting cold

frosts, and northern winds compelled him to invent for his bodily protection what is called raiment, and rain forced him to build for himself a house; likewise those seemingly supernatural phenomena in regard to whose origin even the present day empirical science has not offered a satisfactory solution, attracted his attention, and forced him believe in the existence of something higher than himself or than all his ancestors.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF JAPAN.

Books on Japanese history by native authors, as already stated, are numerous; but with one prominent exception, they all have followed, nay, I should rather say copied with a few verbal and linguistic variations, the *Kojiki*. This is pre-eminently true of the *Jindai* the so called "Divine Age" of Japan. This "prominent exception" is the famous *Mito Dai Nihon Shi*²³ (*Mito History of Japan*), that *magnum opus* of Japanese scholarship and erudition. The *Mito History of Japan* altogether ignores the *Jindai* and begins from the ascension of *Jimmu Tenno* in Yamato after which the same stereotyped data are reproduced with a monotonous uniformity which often betrays its own end.

²³ This great work was composed by different scholars and historians under the direct patronage of the Daimio of Mito who was one of the *Go Sanke*.

Those foreign writers also who since the Meiji Restoration have attempted to write a history of the Japanese empire, have followed the well-beaten traditional pathway,—of course giving the “Divine Age” as mythical—with a self-satisfied assurance of its safety and reliability. It was Mr. Aston, if the present writer is not mistaken, who for the first time in a Paper entitled “Early Japanese History” and read before this Society, questioned the credibility of the events as found in these histories from Jimmu down for several generations, in fact down to the time of the composition of the Kojiki and the introduction of the continental learning and civilization into these Islands. Mr. Aston’s position in his paper is entirely negative, and as all negative positions in matters of remote antiquity are, is very convincing. He gives a centenary comparison (from A.D. 1 to A.D. 400) of the Rulers who governed Japan and those who ruled her neighbour China, and the result is that while the latter country during four centuries had thirty-eight accessions, the former had only seven! I subjoin Mr. Aston’s whole table of comparison :—

| Country. | A. D. | No. of Accessions. |
|--------------|-------------|--------------------|
| Japan | 1-400 | 7 |
| Silla | do. | 16 |
| Kakuli | do. | 17 |
| Pekchi | do. | 16 |
| China | do. | 38 |

After the first four centuries of our era the number of the reigning emperors gradually rises to a normal comparative state as the table for the next four centuries shows :—

| Country. | A. D. | No. of According. |
|-------------|----------------|-------------------|
| Japan | 400- 800 | 38 |
| Silla | do | 22 |

| Country. | A. D. | No. of According. |
|----------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| China | 662-1062 | 35 |
| do | 1062-1462 | 35 |
| do | 1462-1862 | 17 |
| France | 1000-1400 | 16 |
| do | 1400-1800 | 15 |
| England | 1087-1487 | 15 |
| do | 1487-1887 | 21 |
| Scotland | 1167-1567 | 19 |
| Wales | 840-1240 | 17 |

After the above table Mr. Aston adds:—"Japanese history stands alone in having only seven accessions during this time—A. D. 1-400, the lowest number which I have been able to discover in any other country for a similar period being fifteen." Now if we look to the number of the emperors from the beginning of the accepted history of the country, that is, from the establishment of the Jimmu dynasty in Yamato to the beginning of the Christian Era, the number is comparatively smaller than that of the succeeding four centuries just given. Here for 660 years we have only ten accessions. These and many other quite convincing and plausible reasons may be arrayed to show that the early history of Japan, in my opinion, from its very beginning down to the establishment of Nara as the imperial capital, needs a thorough purging out, and re-writing on more scientific historical bases. No future historian of Japan, native or foreign, should for a moment be heard, who has not completely emancipated himself from the enslaving yoke of traditionalism. The auspicious moment for such an undertaking, in my opinion, has arrived. The Imperial Government of Japan herself has said: "Strange and *incredible* legends have been transmitted from that era—"Divine Age."²⁴ Indeed there are

²⁴ The History of the Empire of Japan p. 19.

many "incredible legends" come down to us from the ages following the *Jindai*. Will any intelligent Japanese believe now the story of Jimmu's entire army fainting at the sight of a bear while passing through Koomano on its way to Yamato, and similar other childish stories? Of course not! Hence to reconstruct the early history of Japan upon satisfactory scientific rules, it must be dealt with in the manner that Niebuhr and Mommsen have dealt with the legendary history of Rome. Mr. Aston in his above-mentioned Paper tries to bring evidence from several foreign sources, Corean and others, to demolish the whole fabric of the traditional history of Japan, without erecting anything upon the ruins. Assuredly the negation of tradition will not produce history more than the negation of all phenomena will create a new phenomenon in a vacuum. Evidently long before reaching the period when we can base our historical data upon the solid rock of documentary evidence, which begins, as already stated, from the establishment of the imperial capital at Nara, Yamato, the Japanese as a nation must have had a history, a history, indeed, of several centuries! How, then to reconstruct the whole history of this period is the momentous question left for the future historian of Japan to answer. That historian must first investigate the origin and pedigree of the nation. Then follow step by step its gradual development, to find out the diverse exotic and alien elements which from time to time from the neighbouring countries must have found their several ways into these Islands; and were eventually totally absorbed in the bosom of the original colonists, who to the present day remain as the substratum of the nation, just as the early English Colonists remain, as far as language and manners are concerned, the basic-foundation of the American nation. Following these he must minutely depict the internal struggles through which these colonists must have passed till the

arrival of the Yamato hegemony and the establishment of the present Imperial dynasty. From the very object and scope of this paper it will be impossible for me to deal exhaustively, hence, satisfactorily, with all these weighty problems. Such a responsibility, rests, in my opinion, with the Imperial Government. If the Imperial Government fulfilled this grave responsibility to the history of their country, as the Prince of Mito did in the palmy days of his rule, the cause of real knowledge would be greatly advanced. No future historian of Japan will be accepted as authority who makes the statement that: "The Japanese Empire has an origin different from that of other States. It owes nothing to aggression or conquest, but is founded entirely upon the loyal deference and obedience rendered by its people to the virtues and power of an unbroken line of illustrious sovereigns. From the time that Amaterasu-Ōmikami made Ninigi-no-Mikoto descend from the heavens and subject to his administrative sway Okuninushi-no-Mikoto and the other offspring of the deities in the land, the descendants of the divine beings have sat upon the throne generation after generation in succession." Such a statement, or rather, portions of it, can be disproved upon the authority of the Kojiki itself! Does not the author of this piece of history know that the expedition of the two Deities, Jimmu and his brother, from Hyuga to Yamato was attended by many battles and frequent skirmishes, in one of which the elder brother lost his life? The development of Imperialism in Japan *cannot* have "an origin different from that of other States;" the sooner this is made clear the better.

So much by way of introduction to this interesting and all-important subject.

In a previous Paper I have given my views on the origin of the present Japanese. Now I shall try to give a short, and I am afraid a very dim and unsatisfactory

sketch of their first appearance in these beautiful Islands and their subsequent conquests and ramifications, till the dawn of more reliable and authentic history, which in my personal opinion, cannot be derived from the present traditional authorities. The first question which presents itself now is, when did the first colonist appear in Japan? The Kojiki and all the rest are absolutely silent upon this matter. All that they tell us is that in 660 B.C. Jimmu, having been commissioned by the heavenly Powers, descended upon Takachiho Mountain in Hyuga, and afterwards went to Yamato and there established his Imperial throne and dynasty. Granting the historical and actual occurrence of this myth, still we are left in total ignorance as far as the origin of the race is concerned: unless we go one step farther back and accept the theory that the whole nation is descended from Izanagi and his spouse Izanami, in the same manner that the Chinese nation has descended from their supreme god, the famous Pwanka. We are not going to do any such thing. Relying upon similar historical analogies in the annals of other nomad nations of remote antiquity, who from certain unknown internal sociological causes have been suddenly rent asunder and disrupted into several bodies, each one going in an opposite direction, and in their aimless wanderings by mere blind chance reaching a new country populated by tribes and peoples of more sedentary habits of life and existence; gradually subduing and in process of time absorbing these, and starting a new nation and form of government, just as we see the Vedic Aryan doing in India, and the Hyksas Shepherd Kings in Egypt. I think we would not be very far from the truth if we put the date of the appearance of the first continental colonists in Japan sometime between the sixth and 10th centuries before our era. Taking the above maximum figures as the beginning of the history of the present Japanese nation,

down to the fifth century of our era, when the reign of each Emperor comes down to a normal length, we have an empty intervening space of fifteen centuries which the historian has to fill up. These fifteen centuries I shall divide into two main divisions, which may, subsequently, be subdivided into several smaller fractions of time. Ten out of these fifteen centuries I'll parcel out and give to the first division, which commences from the first appearance of the original North-Himalayan man on the Japanese shores; his subsequent struggles with and against the aborigines, namely, the present day Ainus; his final mastery over these, and the internal feuds of the new colonists between themselves. The remaining time to be given to the second great division, namely, the gradual ascendancy of the Yamato colony and the final unification of the whole country under its supremacy and hegemony, and the establishment of the present Imperial Dynasty.

Now, in regard to the first division of our subject, the Kojiki myths, in my opinion, are a very good mirror, although dim—as all old mirrors are dim—of the wars, battles, feuds, and struggles of these original colonists, first with the aboriginal Ainus, then between themselves. Evidently we should not entertain the hope of seeing in the Kojiki the same well-defined and firmly-attested historical facts which we possess about the struggles of the Puritan New-Englander first with his Indian host, then with his French neighbour, lastly with his English parent.

The Kojiki places the enactment of the first part of this national drama somewhere in the Southern parts of the Country. At first we have the names of such well-known geographical localities as Awaji, Tosa, which is in Shikoku, Izumo, Hyuga, and many others. On this point the present writer perfectly agrees with Futo-no-Yasumaro. The progress and advancement of the

new aggressive intruder must have been begun from South to North and not *vice versa*. It will be merely waste of time to lavish words to prove this self-evident point; the very habitation of the present Ainus is the final tribunal in deciding the matter. It is but natural, as well as rational, to suppose that when the first colonist discovered the country and settled within its borders he very soon encountered its old inhabitants who had preceded him by many centuries, and therefore, were both *de jure* and *de facto* its owners. At the beginning the attitude assumed by the new settlers towards the aborigines depends considerably, if not altogether, upon the surrounding circumstances. Physical force creates the policy, and the policy engenders the attitude. The attitude of the weak Puritan Pilgrim towards the strong and warlike Indian was very different from that of Hernando Cortes and Francisco Pizarro in the same Hemisphere. If Spanish adventurers were not positively assured that their guns and horses would win the victory, they would not have acted as they did. The froth from the mouth of Pizarra's horse would not have soiled the Incas' white robes, nor would have Cortes dared to put iron-chains upon the sacred hands of the divine Montezuma. With all probability the continental settlers crossed the channel, at first, by small numbers and squads, and intermingling by marriage with the natives lived peacefully together. The Kojiki myths are full of such matrimonial alliances: an unknown *Kami* (god) suddenly appears in a certain locality and performs some great actions of bravery, and marries the prettiest daughter of the tribal chief. Even at the present day, I am told by reliable persons who have lived many years in Hokkaido, that an Aino young woman will *always* prefer a *Shamoo* (Japanese) young man to one of her own race, while a Japanese young lady of any respectability will seldom, if ever, accept the hand of

any European or American young man if one of her own nationality has extended his hand to her.

Very soon, however, large numbers of immigrants arrived, and in course of time the new element grew in strength and bulk and pushed northward the old inhabitants. The contention between the opposing elements must have been something analogous to that of the English with savage and semi-savage races all over the world. In such cases the well-equipped forces and good discipline and not numbers decide the engagements upon whose issue momentous problems of future humanity are depending. Even the earliest Japanese immigrants, as stated above, on crossing the channel had quite advanced in the production of useful arts, especially in that of war. The sword, from the very beginning of the nation's history, to its final unfortunate abolition by the Meiji Government, appears to be the *vade macum* of every male Japanese. Spears and bows are repeatedly mentioned in the Kojiki. To oppose efficiently the forces equipped with such weapons the poor Aino could have brought nothing into the field. History has left us no authentic records of these bloody contentions, it is left purely to our imagination to picture those engagements. The history of humanity is not an ideal portrait of universal peace, and celestial brotherly-love. The faces of the individuals creating history do not always possess that severe calm and intense love which Correggio has given to the Apostle of love. The wars and battles of nations with each other are not exactly like those of Ormuzd and Ahreinean where virtue and vice, light and darkness, eternally separated from each other, have plunged into deadly combat; but high thoughts and low motives all blend together to conceive our plans and to further them to their ultimate issue. The progress of humanity and of our universal civilization is well illustrated by the following profound lines of the poet :—

In the Kojiki story of Yamato Take, a kind of Japanese Hercules, we see reflecting some faint light upon the darkness of many places of this part of Japanese history. Yamato Take was Emperor Keiko's son ; and after killing his elder brother on account of some insignificant domestic troubles which so frequently happen in all polygamous royal courts, his father was greatly alarmed, and plotted to get rid of the child who was destined to expand the imperial dominions and make Keiko's own name famous in all future history. At first the father sent him against the chiefs of some banditti which had infested the country. But Yamato Take rose to the occasion and completely destroyed the robbers and restored peace and security in the lands of Kumaso, Idzumo, and some other places. After these manifold deeds of the highest bravery his fame grew more and more. Consequently the father's fear also grew apace. After these incidents the Kojiki tells us that the "Heavenly Sovereign again urged a command on Yamato Take saying: "Subdue and pacify the savage Deities and likewise the unsubmissive people of the twelve roads of the East." Yamato Take perceiving his unnatural parent's real intentions went to the temple of Amaterasu in Ise and there complained in the following words to his aunt, Yamato Hime, the Chief Priestess of the place:—"It must surely be that the Heavenly Sovereign thinks I may die quickly ; for after sending me to smite the wicked people of the West, I am no sooner come up again home than, without bestowing upon

me an army, he now sends me off afresh to pacify the wicked people of the twelve circuits of the East. Consequently I think that he certainly thinks I shall die quickly." He departed with tears and lamentations, from the presence of his aunt who gave to the noble Prince the sword which Susa-no-O had found inside the eight-headed dragon which he had killed in rescuing the poor girl, and likewise the High Priestess bestowed on her valiant nephew "an august bag" and said: "If there should be an emergency, open the mouth of the bag." Armed with two such supernatural instruments given to him by his divine Aunt, Yamato Take went from place to place and everywhere completely subdued the recalcitrant Chiefs, annexed their dominions to the imperial territory, and restored prolonged peace and tranquillity. The last people, whom, before his return, the brave Prince subdued, were called, we are told by the author of the *Kojiki*, *Yemishi*, undoubtedly a name by which the Ainus were designated by their ancient Japanese conquerors. From this story, or rather history, it is quite clear in my opinion, that even in the early days of the progress of Yamato imperialism the aborigines were gradually being pushed until they had now reached the north of Mt. Fuji. At present no vestige of Ainu existence and civilization remains on the Main Island and in Kyushu with the exception of a few names of localities, many of which Prof. Chamberlain with immense pains and assiduous labour has collected in his previously mentioned volume on the Ainus. Besides these names we have a few stone war implements and flint arrow-heads occasionally excavated in some of the old Southern provinces. But, perhaps, the greatest remnant of Ainu civilization left to us is found in Matsuyama, a small town of the present Saitama-Ken, a few miles from Tokyo. About half-a mile East of the town there is a small hillock completely hidden now with luxuriant vegetation and trees. On the South.

Western side of this small hill there are altogether about two hundred caves hewn in the soft rock, each one large enough to hold a husband and wife, and in case of necessity to shelter one or two children. There is considerable architectural science manifested in bringing these grottoes to successful completion. Each domicile is evenly divided into two compartments. The floor of one of these compartments is about four inches higher than that of the other; showing plainly that that special part was intended for sitting and sleeping, while the lower apartment was for some other, perhaps more menial, purposes of their rudimentary daily existence. The entrance is large enough for one person to enter without much difficulty, and uniformly it opens into the apartment with a lower floor, so that the inmates could be protected from the attacks of the chilling winds and biting storms. The caves all are very near to each other so that by a single fierce yell of the savage the whole village could have been easily apprised of approaching danger or of near joy. This Matsuyama Ainu village, in my opinion, must have been constructed long after the continental colonists had settled in Japan and densely populated the Southern provinces and driven the former occupants of the land farther North. Indeed the very locality of the village and the structure of the residences, encourage the assumption that it was made long after the Ainu had met the Japanese and had learned from his conqueror a few of the useful arts. It may have been utilized also as a stronghold to stubbornly withstand the perpetual onslaughts of the unwelcome intruder. What tragic scenes and bloody dramas have been enacted within that very limited compass fortunately are veiled from the eyes of our knowledge by a thick curtain; and no imagination should assist history in bringing them to light. The Ainu race was destined to disappear and give place to a more intelligent, aggressive, and hopeful race. Nothing would have

availed in saving it from such a tragic end. It is the unchangeable mandate of the inexorable nemesis of fate that every nation which does not know the time of its visitation has to leave the platform of the universal theatre of the progress of humanity. The case of the Indian in the Western Hemisphere is not very different from that of the Ainu in Japan. "We are driven back," said once an old Indian Chief to a white man, "until we can retreat no farther—our hatchets are broken, our bows are snapped, our fires are nearly extinguished—a little longer and the white man will cease to persecute us—for we shall cease to exist."

The second epoch of the ancient history of Japan begins from the final disappearance of the Ainu as a resisting force to arrest the upward growth and the onward advancement of the new colonies to the secure establishment of Imperialism in Yamato. This is, in our opinion, the most obscure, as it is the most important of all the diverse epochs of ancient Japanese history. The main causes leading to the obscuration of all historical data included in this period are many. In the first place we possess no reliable documents shedding any guiding light upon our dark pathway. Japan does not possess any ruins either for Volney to weep and lament upon, or for a Layard or a Maspero or a Schliemann to excavate and from the contents reconstruct the long-ago forgotten history. In the second place the very nature of the subject increases the difficulty. The remote ages of humanity when those tremendous disruptions within the great civilized families of mankind, like the Aryan, Semitic, or Mongolian, into small fractions, took place, appear to be the periods of extraordinary agitation and unrest for the whole of the human family. It must have been preceded by some seismic sociological convulsions which culminated in a universal eruption by which many different races and

languages were commixed and new nations eventually came into existence. For the historian it is left to distinguish the various elements which in this commingling created new races and new nations. The all-important question, what have been the diverse elements by mixing of which the Japanese race was the outcome, we shall answer at the end of the present chapter.

As to the state of affairs after the subjugation, or rather annihilation of the aborigines from the southern provinces and the rapid increase of the new colonists, the *Kojiki* although not very explicit concerning the immediate precipitation of internecine struggles and wars of the settlers, still has not left as altogether without any information. Of course here we should not expect to see a full picture of war, like that of Meissonier, where we can distinguish unmistakably the personality of every general, but the picture is like that of Milton's famous epic: the whole universe is hotly engaged: gods, goddesses, angels, devils, heroes, men, women, in fact every organic substance! First we have the contest between the celestial and terrestrial gods, then between the latter and the heads of the different clans, and finally between the earthly chiefs and Imperialism. Out of this promiscuous conglomeration of fact and fiction the historian is obliged to choose his unimpeachable historic data.

Now, if for a little while, we turn our attention from the period preceding the centralization and final establishment of the present monarchy, and cast a cursory glance over the whole of the history of Japan after the enfeeblement of Imperialism by internal dissensions and external revolutions, what state of things do we find from the ascendancy of the Taira and Minamoto families in the early part of the 8th century down to the abdication of Keiki and the Meiji Restoration, a period of over one thousand years? Do we find during the whole length of these ten centuries, under the celestial

aegis of Imperialism, perfect peace and order, absolute security and prosperity, supremely reigning everywhere? By no means! Every page of the history of Japan from the beginning of the deadly contest and struggle of the two above-mentioned rival families, down to the time when that greatest hero Japan has ever produced—Tokugawa Iyeyasu—crushed the Southern Confederacy and once more united Japan under his iron sceptre, is covered with blood, murders, assassinations, rebellions, revolutions. Even though the illustrious house of Tokugawa saved Japan from bloodshed and anarchy and for two centuries and a half ruled over its united provinces with peace and tranquillity, still the spirit of discontent had not totally died out. And although during the whole length of this prosperous period the Bakufu Government did everything in its power to encourage the advancement of the sciences and arts; (in fact it was through the untiring personal labours and unremitting solicitations of the individual Shoguns that the native civilization reached the acme of its glory and grandeur) still the fire of rebellion had not been extinguished, but was smouldering all this time, and at the opportune moment burst out amongst the warlike southern clans into a great conflagration which ended in the abolition of the Iyeyasu dynasty and the restoration of a Constitutional Imperialism. It should be remembered here that it was the United forces of Satsuma, Choshu, Bizen, and their allies, whose ancestors two hundred and fifty years before had been defeated at the great battle of Ōgaki, who shattered the Shogunate and successfully achieved the restoration of the weakened Imperialism, not the free-will of a united free people. What would have been the final and lasting consequences of that stupendous national unrest, agitation, and conflict, if at the head of the Bakufu Government had been Tokugawa Iyeyasu instead of Tokugawa Keiki, we are unable now to

make any retrospective prophecy. One thing, however, is certain, namely, the overthrowing of the Shogunate would not have been accomplished by the children's battle upon the banks of Yodo-gawa.

The Japanese by natural tendencies is warlike, pugnacious, restless, and aggressive. Even the extreme Buddhist quietism has not been able to diminish the force of these propensities and alter his character. Perhaps for ages to come he will continue manifesting these qualities. He may in future change repeatedly the scenes of his actions; he may enlarge the sphere of his activities in every line; but there is very little probability that that racial vitality and energy, whose external manifestations these propensities undoubtedly are, will ever abandon him. It is the operation of this spirit which has made the history of the whole period under our review full of all kinds of internal wars and dissensions.

Now what will prevent us from thinking and imagining, that the same spirit which after the enfeeblement of Imperialism was working during the Taira, Minamoto, Hojo, Ashikaga, Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Tokugawa struggles, was not, before the birth of monarchy, operating on similar lines in the lands of Izumo, Kyushiu, and other firmly-settled Western provinces? What sufficient logic debars us from thinking that the mythical stories contained in the first part of the Kojiki are not real historical occurrences, although greatly exaggerated by the successive accumulations of unreliable traditions? Parallelism in similar cases is not only permissible but is imperative, as it is the sole guide of history; unless something extraordinary arrests our logical course of reasoning and alters our convictions. The spirit of feudalism and clanship in the Japan of the two periods which we are comparing together had not abated nor changed. Indeed if there had been manifest any infirmity in its ceaseless activities, that must have taken place after the foundation

of the Yamato Monarchy and not before it. The unification of the country under one great and stable government must have, undoubtedly, done more to create a new consciousness of Japanese nationality and universal friendship and sympathy, than anything before it. Judging from the uniform analogy of the philosophy of history it is quite fair and logical to suppose that this new consciousness of nationality and inter-dependence greatly weakened, if not totally quenched, the fire of prejudice and hatred which had, for ages, been burning between the diverse provinces and clans. Hence if any difference of conduct or character had taken place between the old and new feudalism, we are obliged to accept the supposition that the pre-Imperial Japan was given more to bloodshed and perpetual anarchy than the Japan of the millennium from the decadence of the supremacy of Monarchy to its recent restoration.

Accepting such rules of criticism as the ultimate canons for re-constructing the history of the mythical, or rather—pre-Imperial Japan, what do we find in these Kojiki myths, legends, and stories? As already stated, the perpetual conflict and contest of the different tribal chiefs together showed the same condition of things which we see in the other and historically more reliable interval. The latter, indeed, is only the logical continuation of the same drama : history repeating itself though the dramatis personæ enacting it are clad in a more modern costume.

In my opinion, the quasi-mythical and quasi-historical personalities of the legends contained in the first part of the Kojiki, are real historical beings, who existed and ruled over the Southern provinces of the empire before the ascendancy of Yamato power and civilization ; the legendary and incredible extraneous matter which has adhered to them is later accretion created and superimposed by the incontrollable imagination of the bard and the inconceivable credulity of the people.

Take for example the story of the Master-of-the-Great-Land—that prototype of Iyeyasu—he rules his provinces with a firmness of character and grip that is more than heroic. Nothing daunts this old lion, even if the will of the whole Celestial Agora is opposed to him ! Messenger after messenger comes down from the gods, but he defies them all. Finally grown aged and feeble he retires from active into private life ; and his successors, instead of realizing the moment of danger and preparing for the inevitable emergency “ have gone to pursue birds and catch fish ! ” Thus enfeebled by luxury and indolence, the critical moment arrives : their forces are defeated, their government overthrown, and their dynasty extinguished. It would be simply nullification and destruction of the utility of scepticism in the domain of history to doubt and discredit such an archaic ungarished and matter-of-fact historical occurrence. How many young Rulers degenerated by luxury and sensuality, “ by pursuing birds and catching fish,” have become the primal cause of the ruin of themselves and of their country !

In a similar manner the earlier stories, like that of Soosa-no-O and others, when divested completely of their supernatural accretions, nothing would debar us, in my opinion, from believing as historical incidents in the life of a nation.

Co-acting with the probability of the internal credibility of these purified stories is the convincing geographical and topographical description of the localities where these incidents took place. As previously stated, the places mentioned in the Kojiki as giving birth to these myths all are in the Southern provinces, especially in Izumo, and not, as should be expected, in Yamato, the land where they, for the first time, were collected and put together.

The careful reader of the Kojiki will observe that the theatre where these heroic myths are played is not always the same fixed locality but is changed repeatedly from

place to place, and almost always shifting farther North. However, after the Izumo cycle, we are ushered, though rather unexpectedly, into the Yamato civilization. The myths connecting the two centres of ancient Japanese life and history are omitted. Of course the continuity of the historical chain cannot be expected in a promiscuous collection of old myths and legends. Still, I think, the gradual expansion of the new race towards the Go-Kinai is not only quite manifest from the inevitable sequence of events in the life of an aggressive young nation ; but also from the frequent, though very vague, mention of some geographical names in the early parts of the Kojiki ; which open the door and leave us alone to enter into the complicated history of Yamato.

The accepted history of Japan, as already stated, begins from the ascension of the Emperor Jimmu upon the newly-established throne of Yamato about 660 B.C. Leaving aside the often-beaten pathway of these annals, let us examine this part of Japanese history with more scientific criticism and care. Previously we stated that the establishment of the present Yamato Monarchy could not have been earlier than the first or second centuries before our Era. Consequently, from this time, that is, the beginning of Yamato Imperialism, down to the foundation of Nara as a great national capital sometime in the early part of the eighth century of our Era, or 710 A.D., according to the accepted history we have a period about eight or nine centuries now to review. The "Nara Epoch" is the *terra firma* of Japanese history, because it is the beginning of those arts and that civilization whose results astonish us even at the present day.

This stage of Japanese history, however, is quite different from the preceding one. Here that uncertainty and historic doubt arising out of the constant manifestation of supernatural beings, taking part, as in the Homeric days, in the conflicts of the people, are reduced to the

smallest minimum possible; hence the fog of mythical vagueness is considerably attenuated. In this period of the national history the Kojiki annals find noteworthy support and confirmation, though in an indirect way, in the Manyoshu poems.

We have seen in the Kojiki, the Izumo cycle abruptly ending, and Yamato, which is vaguely mentioned before in the names of a few deities and semi-historic heroes, suddenly becoming the great centre of a well-organized government. The country hardly mentioned before, unexpectedly becomes, in contemporary poetry, the spot most favoured by the gods upon our terrestrial globe. One poet in the old Manyoshu sings:—

*Kami ni masaretaru,
Yamato no Kuni wa !*

“ O Yamato ! Country
Beloved by the gods ! ”

Another of a less soaring imagination, but more practical and utilitarian turn of mind, in the Kojiki sings:—

*Yamato wa
Kuni no mawaraba
Tatanatsuku,
A wo-kaki yama-gomoreru,
Yamato shi uruwashi !*

(As for Yamato, the most secluded of lands, retired behind Mount Awagaki, encompassing it with its folds, is delightful). ”

Let us now turn to this “ most secluded of lands, the delightful Yamato ” !

The Kojiki tells us that Jimmu's expedition after reaching the tempestuous mouth of Yodo-Gawa at Naniwa, the present Osaka, and finding landing difficult, kept sailing southward till reaching the river Kii where

an easy landing was effected and the soldiers much relieved of anxiety. After this, taking the Kii river route and through Kumano reached Uda in Yamato, the present Uda Gori. Establishing his capital at a place called Kashiwabara, Jimmu, like a true Japanese, began immediately quarrelling with the petty native chiefs surrounding him and marrying "wives like the young herbs," wherever he went. But this whole expedition is so aimless in its purpose, and so impossible in the route taken, that in an age when the "Land of Reeds" was hardly cultivated and no roads constructed, that whole story is therefore, from a historical point-of-view, utterly incredible. We have no means, at present, of finding out what proportion of this Jimmu legend was original, and what part adhered to it in later years. In all probability the author or rather collator of these myths, stitched together several heterogeneous traditions, and the result was the present homogeneous history of Jimmu from his descent from heaven down to his death.

Now if we leave these historical myths and look to the present Yamato, we can see distinctly here two very old centres of culture and civilization such as we cannot find in any other part of Japan; namely Nara and Yoshino. Nara, as already stated, was capital of the Empire from A.D. 708-782, i.e. a period of 74 years, a duration of time utterly insufficient in that age, as we shall see later on, for the development of a small village into a large capital. While Yoshino is mentioned as Yoshino in the earliest myths, no where do the authoritative annals tell us aught about it having been the imperial capital before Nara was made the great Metropolis. The visitor who even to-day sees only a few fragments of arts and industry in the beautiful town of the cherry-blossoms, and the surrounding country, cannot help thinking that in remote antiquity it must have been the birth-place of not inconsiderable culture and civili-

zation. One thing also is very striking, namely, as the art and civilization of Nara is older than that of Kyoto, and the Kyoto art and culture than that of Tokyo, likewise the civilization and art of Yoshino are older than those of Nara. From the present remnants of the ancient Yoshino art and industry, if we turn now to the Manyōshū, we find in its contents many old corroborative poems indicating that Yoshino once was the capital and residence of a great monarch. These poems, if judged from a philological stand-point, must be denoted as the oldest in the whole collection. Amongst many I give the following one, attributed to Poet Hitamaro; that Homer of Japanese ancient poetry :

Yasuni shi shi
Waga Ō kimi no.
Kikoshi osu.
Ame no shita ni.
Kuni wa Shimo ;
Sawa ni aredomo,
Yama Kawa no.
Kyōki Kōchi to.
Mi kokoro wo!
Yoshino no Kuni no.
Hana Chira wo,
Akitsu no nobe ni,
Miya bashira,
Futo Shiki maseba.
Momo Shiki no,
Ō Miya bito wa,
Fune namite !
Asa gawa watari.
Funa gihoi,
Yu kawa watari.
Kono kawa no,
Taeru koto naku,

Kono yama no.
Iya takakarishi.
Iwa bashiru,
Tagi no Miyako wa,
Miredo, akane ka mo !

which may be rendered in the following English :

“ The eight corners
 My great Lord,
 Governing is !
 Under heaven (in the Empire)
 Provinces many
 Although there be ;
 But where the crystal river,
 Winds round the Mount ;
 The land of Yoshino alone,
 Rejoices thy Angust heart !
 And in the blossom,
 Scattered fields of Akitsu
 Pillars of thy Palace
 Strongly built, dwellest thou !
 Where beautiful
 Court Attendants,
 Ranging their boats,
 Early morn the river to cross !
 Lo ! striving boats
 Recrossing it in the eve !
 By this river
 Glowing eternally ;
 In these mountains,
 Rising transcendently ;
 Rock-circumvented
 Lies Tagis' capital (Miyako) ;
 To gaze at, tired
 One never yearns ! ”

The Japanese annals tells us that after Jimmu's death each new Emperor who succeeded him built for himself a new capital, so that we have forty or fifty names of these capital cities in the province of Yamato. The very location of most of these capitals cannot be found at present, unless it be by some arbitrary action of the Meiji Government, for example, like that of fixing the site of Jimmu's tomb on the top of a hill near the present town of Yag in Yamato. However, we all know that capitals are not made in a single day, or during one potentatés reign; those which are made in such a short duration of time cannot, properly speaking, be called capitals. Japan is not an exception to this universal rule. But what about the names of these cities, towns and villages, given with such, self-satisfied assurance and equanimity by the author of the Kojiki? Are they all myths of later growth? By no means. Before, we alluded to the intestine feuds of the colonists after the aborigines had retreated Northward. Indeed it would be simply unlearning the lesson of history if we thought that Yamato alone earned its supremacy without any internal struggles or external wars. What will debar us from thinking that what was going on everywhere in the Japan of that day was occurring in Yamato also? It is but fair and logical to think that during the long struggle in Izumo, Inaba, or Kyushiu, Yamato was not quiescent, but was carrying on a twofold warfare: internally subjugating all the local petty chiefs under one Supreme Ruler: externally expanding till we see the word Yamato becoming identical with Japan; and Yamato language (*Yamato Kotoba*) equivalent with the language of the United Country; just as Rome expanded into the largest empire mankind has founded. Indeed Yamato could not have stamped its life and spirit (*Yamato Damashii*) upon the character of the whole young and impressive nation, if it had not

earned its ascendancy by an universal victory carried by force of arms everywhere. It must have been before these external expansions, that the internal contentions and wars between the many petty tribal Rulers in the different parts of Yamato, in Uda, Miwa, Kashiwabara, and other places, had led to the gradual ascendancy of Yoshino and its final domination over the whole province. It is not beyond the sphere of possibility, nay even of probability, to suppose that Jimmu was the first person and chief who achieved some lasting results towards this Yoshino domination in Yamato, and thereby became the real founder of the present Imperial dynasty, which assuredly, beyond all assaults of cavil and doubt, is a Yamato family. We have no satisfactory reasons to doubt the historical existence of Jimmu Tenno. I can assert positively that he was not a god; but I am not prepared to go to the extremity of saying that he was not a man either.

The small plain of Yoshino, however, is not a very adequate place to become the site of the metropolis of a large country. The emperors who reigned during the Yoshino interval must have ruled over a very small and limited area. But with the development and expansion of continental Art, literature, religion, and general culture, the exigencies of the new situation forced upon the Government the expediency of removing the capital to a more suitable place; as the Meiji Government did several centuries afterwards.

At present Yoshino is famous for its cherry blossoms, and for many solitary temples scattered over its hills and mountains, which are visited annually by thousands of pilgrims. Its beautiful cherry trees are not native to the soil, but are planted artificially by immense manual labour, testifying plainly that once in remote antiquity the beautiful Yoshino where:—

“Mountains rise transcendently

Rivers flow eternally

And Birds sing perpetually "

was the centre and cradle of considerable civilization, and for aught we know the birth-place of the imperishable Japanese Imperialism !

In a previous chapter I have tried to show that the present Japanese race is a branch cut off from a large tree whose nativity must have been somewhere in the extensive territory lying north of the gigantic chain of mountains called Himalaya. However, it cannot be denied that this nation has not kept its purity unalloyed to the present day. Whether we follow the ancient Japanese traditions, or similar phenomena in other places, we are obliged to accept the theory that the aboriginal element which at present is represented by the Hokkaido Ainu must have contributed not an inconsiderable quota. The amalgamation of two races with such striking facial resemblances is far easier than that of two families of mankind possessing radically different physiognomies. Again, some races display greater aptitude in mixing, especially in marriage, with the lower native races, than some others. Latin races have done this more successfully than the Anglo-Saxon, as we can see in the two Americas. If Japanese have any characteristic resemblance to these two branches of the great Aryan family, it is to the Latin rather than to the Anglo-Saxon.

But beside the Ainu element, Sir Ernest Satow has stated that some other elements of a Southern origin also have been mixed in the race. "The first invaders of Japan," he says, "settled according to tradition in Idzumo. They probably were a more or less civilized race, acquainted with agriculture and some of the other arts of life. After a while they were followed by other invaders coming from the south, who landed in Kyushu, and being of a more warlike character than the

previous inhabitants gradually conquered them, and overran the whole country." I accept this theory with some reserve. That there has been considerable southern element absorbed in the Japanese nation, I readily accept. The very colour of the southern inhabitant of the Japanese Islands proves that they have mixed in their blood some copper-colour of the Malayan type. This Malayan reddish colour is predominantly observable in the modern Loochooan. But I am not ready to accept the statement that "these invaders overran the whole country." Whatever the bulk of the new element was, was completely absorbed by the old and native element, and its effect did not reach beyond Kyushu and the Southern ports of the Main Island. Sir E. Satow's evidence that the terminations of the present Japanese language are an abiding remnant of the language left by southern invaders whose languages are rich in vowels, though very plausible testimony, cannot be conclusive. The languages not possessing written characters might often be influenced by the characters borrowed from a new language. It is beyond doubt that the Turkish language has lost many of its final vowels by borrowing the Perso-Arabic letters; while Sanskrit has gained many by coming in contact with the agglutinative languages of India and others. Amongst the Aryan languages Sanskrit stands alone, whose every letter ends with a different *a* sound; we have Sanscrit *Kara* "labour", Persian *Kar*, and so forth, with many other words of the same class. Therefore I am greatly inclined to think that the vowel terminations of the present Japanese language were, in the first place, inherent in the old agglutinative language of the early immigrants from the continent. And in the introduction of the *Kata Kana* from India and Tibet this was more strengthened till they took the present shape; rather than attribute it to the southern invasion. However this solution of such a weighty question cannot be conclusive and final, till each point has been more thoroughly examined.

and one of the greatest is the language and its diversified dialects.

In order to give a finishing touch to the theories advanced in the previous chapters concerning the origin and early history of the Japanese nation I'll make the following recapitulating remarks :—

1. The present Japanese originally belonged to a great civilized stock, commonly called Altaic or Turanian, occupying the vast extent of land lying north of India. This family, like the other two civilized families of human-kind—Aryan and Semitic—was disrupted several thousands of years ago into many divisions and subdivisions dispersing over the different parts of the Eastern Hemisphere. To this great race belong not only the Japanese, but also the Coreans, Mongols, Tartars, Turks, Huns and many other progressive tribes and nations.

2. About three thousand years ago the first continental immigrants came over, perhaps in small numbers at first, and settled in the Southern parts of the Islands.

3. These new colonists being of a higher order of intellect and civilization gradually drove the aborigines to the North and established themselves permanently in the land.

4. After the colonists had gained the final mastery of the country they began struggling and warring between themselves, with different vicissitudes of fortune, for at least one thousand years.

5. After this, Yamato and the neighbouring provinces, which hitherto had remained weak and subject to the Southern provinces, began gaining in strength and numbers till they finally overthrew the Southern domination and established in its place their own power and sovereignty.

6. In this new centre of population also struggles and feuds, not unsimilar to those witnessed in the other parts of the country, had been going on till the chief of

the warlike mountaineers of Yoshiuo asserted his power by reducing the rival tribal chiefs into submission. He succeeded in establishing a dynasty which gradually brought the whole country under its universal and permanent sway.

7. After the populating of the Islands by the North Himalayan race, new elements, generally from the South, constantly found their way into its bosom ; but they never succeeded in materially affecting or destroying the social identity, so that to the present day the universal substratum of the Japanese nation has remained Turanian and not Malayan.

THE BEGINNING OF CIVILIZATION AND ART IN JAPAN.

CHAPTER V.

The ideas constituting the existence and life of the advanced nations of mankind have grown into such an enormous number, that when we use that complicated word "Civilization," which so fully expresses them, almost always some contradicting and conflicting emotions, sentiments and feelings are awakened within our inward man. Indeed, so much so, that often we are puzzled and don't understand in what sense to take it. We are unable to

come to a prompt decision which one of its portraits to love: that drawn by Goethe or that by his compatriot Schopenhauer. The New England Seer was not blameable when contemplating on the immensity of diverse ideas which the word is embosoming, he stood mute and amazed like a person of refined and tender emotions standing before a great master-piece of art or literature engulfed in the infinite sea of admiration. Emerson did not venture to examine and define Civilization, though in his Essays he had with a super-human boldness, analyzed and criticised the whole emotional universe.

In Japan, however, Civilization is identical with Art: that is, those complex ideas which constitute a nation's civilized life, in Japan have found their happy and unmolested expression in what we commonly term art. It is more than evident that every nation in the universal history of our world, which has endeavoured to ascend the ladder of civilization, has made art as one, or several, of the steps. In Japan, however, every step of the ladder is made of one branch of art: so that the complete civilization of the country, before its intercourse with Western nations, was made purely of art. Art in Japan is like a vast sea in its immensity; there is sufficient space for every one to survive like fishes in mid-ocean. With the single exception of Italy during the ever-memorable Renaissance era, nowhere else can we find a similar parallel. This universalism of artistic taste in the whole nation is brought into a happy consummation by that delightful marriage and combination of the useful and beautiful arts together. The heart-ravishing sentiment of the poet:—

“To die for Beauty, than live for bread,”

has no meaning, and sounds empty, to a Japanese artist-artisan: because he has so adeptly and consummately joined beauty and bread together, that there is no intervening space for death, or even a desire to die to enter, and mar the blessings which both confer upon human-

kind. It is this phase, that is the universality of Japanese art, which has made it to be not only duly appreciated by all, but also possessed by all classes of people. Indeed no work of art can be fully appreciated by a person unless he has absolute possession of it, or the undeniable ability to possess it. How often our great admiration of a masterpiece of art is more feigned than real!

History of Japanese art falls under three distinct art-types. We can observe every period clearly, and understand every individual type, and often its prototype also, with ease. All those ideas which are allied to and associated with art, as already stated, cannot be mistaken for any other object. Hence in examining Japanese art if we simply study its spirit, and make ourselves acquainted with its inner life, there will remain no danger to fall into error when classifying it. The taste, however, which judges and criticises, loves or hates the art-productions of an unquestionably artistic nation, must grow gradually *pari passu* with the growth of our knowledge. No human being is permitted to reject any form of beauty for appreciating and loving it he does not possess an intuitive taste. No forms of our mental intentions are so much in need of education, direction and training like those whose sphere of activity is contiguous to the realms of beauty.

Professor Fenollosa, more than whom no one has seen the highest and best forms of Japanese art, and has made its study a speciality for many years, divides it into five historical periods.²⁵ His five periods are governed by the momentous political agitations and vicissitudes of the country, and their counter-reflex and effect upon the nation's

²⁵ Professor Fenollosa's long expected book on Japanese painting has not appeared yet. The five divisions mentioned above were made in a course of lectures, on the same subject, delivered last year in New York and some other cities of the Union.

thought in general, and its art in particular. These five periodic divisions, in my opinion, are quite legitimate, and they will help us, in a large degree, to see and understand better the different stages in the growth of the spirit of the fine-arts in Japan. Art undoubtedly is greatly influenced and affected by every great social or political phenomenon which gives birth to a new order of ideas and thought. The historian of art who observes their advent and ascendancy to power is obliged not only to notice them, but also to shape his history accordingly. If I were writing a book on the whole world of Japanese art, and every different type residing in it, I might, perhaps, have adapted the Professor's five divisions, or indeed have divided it into a larger number than five. This not being my object, the three principal divisions mentioned above will more than sufficiently illustrate the present theme.

If we follow trustingly the guidance of painting which always has occupied the front rank in the history of Japanese fine-arts, the first period will begin from its first introduction with the advent of Buddhism to the death of Meicho or Chodensu in 1427. Meicho undoubtedly is one of the greatest stars of this period: its worthy consummator and finisher. The type of art which reigns supremely and whose dominion is unchallengeable, is purely Indian in everything: in spirit, in the centralization of a large variety of ideas, and in many other things; and sometimes the very canvas and pigments are neither native nor Chinese, but of Indian origin. We do not know now what political or social eruptions occurred during this period, and to what extent they affected, strengthened or enfeebled its vigorous life, and rapid development. Undeniably we see many changes in its vast domain. It is but logical to think that many national and international political events during the long reign of Buddhist art affected the channel of intercourse between the primal source and its new dependencies. The course of the progress of art, as

in fact that of any other branch of thought, is not unlike the course of a river : as long as it is continually strengthened by new freshets it dashes forward with fury making many sinuous turns and windings. It is full of life and strength. Its very unbridled impetuosity is a strong proof of its vitality and final victory. But when that invigorating and ever-rejuvenescing connection ceases, and the rushing course is turned into small independent pools with absolute calm and quietness, very soon unhealthy objects are engendered to pollute its purity. This was the primary cause, as we shall see later on, leading to the deterioration of Buddhist art imported from India.

The second period of Japanese art begins from the return of the great Sesshu from China in 1465 down to the beginning of the Kwanto ascendancy and the final establishment of the Tokugawa Government. Like its predecessor it is governed by purely one type of art, and pervaded universally by one spirit, namely, that of the Chinese. During this period not only Japan was overflowed by Chinese art objects, but the whole country so to speak was converted into a little China. Chinese domestic and religious life, scenery, pastoral and agricultural employments, in short, any and everything Chinese alone was considered a proper and worthy object to stand as model to the brush of the Japanese artist. The Catholicity of this canon of taste no one ventured to question without losing his position and with it, as always is the case, his respectability in the community. Of course many individuals, like Hanabusa Itcho, or before him Motobei, who possessed courage, did venture to express, with absolute freedom, their opinions notwithstanding they incurred the obliquy and disgrace of the powerful different Chinese schools which had taken such deep root in the country ; and in course of time many schismatic academies were formed ; but the Chinese influence, during all this period, ruled supremely and no one could effectively

challenge its supremacy as well as its superiority. Chinese manners of living and thinking suited, better than those of India, the Japanese taste, hence every species of Chinese ideas when imported found ready acceptance in the warm hearts of the unsophisticated people. As we have seen already, Indian art was purely religious, and did not strive to go beyond the limits imposed upon it. It came from a country inhabited by a different race, and governed by a radically different order of ideas, habits and manners. Hence when the strength of the religious life and its artistic novelty had disappeared together it did not satisfy, as her sister Chinese art, the national conscience which so intensely in Japan craves for the rapid objectification of beauty.

The third and last period in the long history of Japanese art begins at the establishment of the Tokugawa Government and ends with it. It is the period in which native thought and taste begin to assert themselves. It is the period in which the *Ukiyo* and *Ōkyo* academies of painting came to existence. In metal work the greatest phenomenon of this epoch is the genesis of the Goto family whose long tenure of life—its continued succession reaching our present day—has achieved great wonders of the highest forms of delicate art. Only those who have seen the sword mountings by Goto Yūjo can realize the heights which Japanese metal workmanship has scaled. It is the beginning of the perfection of the lacquer work by the Kajikawas, of wood carving by Hidari Jingoro, of ivory by Renzan and a large host of other artists; and of iron work by the immortal Myozhin. It is the grand age of the universal emancipation of the Japanese artist from the iron grip of Chinese thought and art. That the Japanese artist once freed from the heavy burden of conventionalism needlessly imposed upon his shoulders by an effete traditionalism of taste and desire can perform miracles of art, it cannot be gainsaid. Those who were fortunate in visiting the National Exposition at Kyoto in the summer

of 1895 must have been struck deeply, and indeed pleasantly, by one department in that vast emporium of art, where the social vitality and genius coupled with an independent taste, had created a new kind of the fine-arts—I mean the ivory carvings. For the exquisiteness of workmanship, grace of finish, expressiveness of human feelings and emotions in all their tender as well as harsh manifestations: of love and hatred, of fear and courage, of friendship and enmity, of pity and cruelty, formed an unique school of art by itself. The artists who brought to existence and perfection those sublimely graceful objects of art ought to have a prominent niche in the universal temple of fame appointed to them.

This period, although not purely Japanese in its conception, genesis, and growth like its two predecessors, still the general tendency is toward a happy realization of the national ideas as contradistinguished from those which had absolutely dominated the art life of the whole people for many centuries before. As it is national in all similar cases, a pure Japanese art could not have been conceived and developed in an atmosphere thickened for ages by types of art and beauty essentially differing from those by which the artist was completely surrounded. Hence in the first period of Japanese art when the Hindoo ideas, as represented in Buddhism, were predominating, we see more purity of artistic taste and ideals than in its two successors, and in the last one, as it is expected, far less than in the one immediately preceding it. We can observe even in the purely Japanese schools of painting like the Ukiyo and Shijo, and in all other branches of art whose departure from the original is very great, still those influences which has operated for ages in moulding the nation's Æsthetic ideas not quite dead, but lying quiet and dormant as the immoveable foundation of the entire art fabric of Japan. A keen eye can detect these affinities in the different schools of painting—Indian, Chinese and native—and in fact in

all other branches of art, with the same ease as he can find the undoubted resemblances between the pictures upon the coffins of ancient Egyptians, and the paintings of the Etruscan vases.

Art ideas, just like other ideas moulding human intellect, are not conceived and born in a single day. They regularly pass through all the complicated stages of organic evolution from a helpless infancy to robust and independent maturity; and the ideas once taken deep root in the rich soil of an intellectual nation's brains and heart, it is very difficult to be completely eradicated. Hence we see the two parent schools—Buddhist and Chinese—still existing to the present day. Indeed no Japanese painter of the highest rank whom I have hitherto met, would frankly confess his inability to exercise his brush with equal facility in all forms of painting extant in Japan. As an evidence to corroborate this statement it is sufficient to mention only, that the painting which carried the grand prize in the National Exposition at Kyoto two years ago, was a Buddhist picture by the famous Hashimoto Gwaho, who although occupying the first place amongst the present-day Japanese painters, till then had produced nothing remarkable in that class of old painting.

The Chinese school of painting also did not entirely lose its pristine strength and original vigour. Of course during the Tokugawa era and years before, when the artist could no longer with freedom visit the Celestial Empire in order to get his inspiration and impression direct from the fountain-head as in the days of yore, his acquaintance with his model grew weaker and weaker. However this defect was greatly remedied by the coming of Chinese painters like Chin Nampin and residing in Nagasaki. These Chinese painters attended the flickering lamp so that even to-day it has not been quite extinguished. Under the erratic Ryuriko of Yamato—born 1703—the brilliancy of colour and strength of touch reached such a height that it almost

equalled the lustre which had illuminated the Ming period in China. The genius of Ryuriko, the greatest colorist of the Chinese school, found a worthy consummator in that of Shuki, after whose death, which happened only a few years ago, the Chinese school has been greatly impoverished in its lustre of pigments. The works of the present representative of this school, Kawabata Gyokusho, suffer immensely from this defection. Ruskin somewhere has said brilliant colors can be produced only by semi-savage races. If that be the real case, the earnest prayer of the present writer would be, that the whole race of painters should remain in a semi-savage state forever !

Another form of Chinese painting has been brought into vogue in quite recent years by the powerful genius of Tani Bunchi—died A.D. 1840—and his many worthy successors. To this form of painting also belong Watanabe Kwazan, Chinzan, Aigai and before them the great Sha Buson who burned nearly a quarter of Kyoto in order to see the full moon rising in its glory, from the window of his house. Some of the works of this branch of the Chinese school in Japan surpass, in my opinion, anything that this school has produced from the great Sesshu to our present day.

The Japanese painter although exercising his skill and brush with equal ease and facility in every species of painting, knows full well that the laws and canons governing the three great epochs of art in his country are quite different in nature and technique from each other. He knows well their essential characteristics and *raison d'être*. This is conspicuously clear when we look to the painting of man and the other accessories. In the pictures representing and illustrating Buddhist dogmas and doctrines the artist uniformly has gone to India for his model and with all possible faithfulness endeavoured to paint a Hindoo man with all his imaginary peculiarities: mental, religious, physical and social. In the early Budd-

hist pictures still extant in Japan the strong physiognomical features of the sturdy mountaineers of North India are strikingly reproduced. I have seen very few pictures illustrating the eternal bliss of Heaven and unutterable torments of Hell in which both the happy and the miserable were from Japan.²⁶ For illustrating domestic virtues, like filial piety, brotherly love, obedience, fidelity, wealth, prosperity, the happiness of longevity and numerous offspring, and similar characters, which are the beauty of a calm but active life, the painter has uniformly gone to China for his motives and models. Sometimes the artist has made the very incongruous combination of putting Chinese sages and aged folks in some well-known Japanese localities famous for their scenic beauty. But for the illustration of a war-like instinct and bellicose disposition, of defiance, of despondency, of restlessness, of activity, of push, and all such like propensities, the painter has not deemed it necessary to wander out of his own country. Whenever you see a sanguinary battle or encounter pictured by a Japanese painter you can rest assured that the scene and models are native.

From this cursory perspective review of the different schools of art in Japan, I hope the candid reader will acquire a certain amount of positive knowledge to lead his understanding to a reasonable and perfect insight of the nature of the ideals and forces silently working for ages moulding and shaping the nation's mind and taste. In the remaining portion of this chapter I expect to give a short sketch of the history of the introduction of the fine arts and civilization at large from the Continent into Japan.

²⁶ The most incongruous Buddhist painting I have seen in Japan was that of a band of samurai and farmers anxiously waiting the coming of Buddha riding upon a chariot of clouds. The Japanese do not make attractive models for religious pictures.

Japanese are a very hard race to acknowledge their inferiority, past or present, to any other nation under the Heavens. However, their annals admit, and their prolific art still proves beyond doubt or cavil, that their civilization anterior to the Meiji Era was either Indian or Chinese, although in process of time native genius and originality had been quickened and was gradually beginning to assert itself and work upon quasi-independent, if not completely independent, lines. In many lines of art and architecture the Japanese had greatly outstripped his Chinese preceptor. This is especially true of the decorative art, by which the Japanese artist had earned for himself an unique position in the history of *Æsthetics*, because he had created a new and unique art.

The question then comes how and when was this new life and energy infused into the veins and spirit of this intelligent and active nation ?

The earliest intercourse of Japan with the Continental nations, according to the *Kojiki* traditions, was the heavenly revelation to Emperor Chinai (A.D. 192-200) saying : "There is a land to the Westward, and in that land is abundance of various treasures dazzling to the eye, from gold and silver downward. I will bestow now this land upon thee." The Emperor like Thomas was quite sceptical about the existence of this land full of gold and silver said : "If one ascends a high place and looks Westward, no country is to be seen. There is only the great sea," and he sat silent and disconsolate. But the gods who were surrounding the Imperial throne were chagrined at their Master, and went as far as saying : "Altogether as for this empire, it is not a land over which thou oughtest to ruler !" In all probability this is the sharpest reproof ever addressed to a divine Sovereign of Japan and this Emperor fully deserved it. The invasion and conquest of Corea was left to his worthy successor, the famous Empress Jingo. There is nothing surprising in this. A lazy and

luxury-sunk man leaving his duties and responsibilities unperformed to his august consort has often happened in the world's history. Jingo Kogo is a great prototype and precursor of the Catharine of Russia.

The conquest of Corea by Jingo Kogo is contested by Mr. Aston who has diligently studied the original Corean historical sources. Even Professor Koomé who stands at the head of Japanese scholars of history, admits that if it ever occurred, its real importance and future effects and results have been greatly exaggerated by the ancient historians.

After this conquest, we have a Corean Wani coming to Japan in A.D. 285 to teach Court etiquette and ceremonies in the imperial palace. The case of Wani and the intercourse with Corea as a tributary and dependency of Japan thus is stated in the prosaic language of the Kojiki: "And King Shō-Ko, the Chieftain of the land of Kudara (Corea) sent as tribute by Achi-Kishi one stallion and one mare. Again he sent as tribute a cross sword, and likewise a large mirror. Again he was graciously bidden (by the Japanese Emperor) to send as tribute a wise man, if there were any such in the land of Kudara. The King receiving the Imperial commands sent as tribute a man named Wani-Kishi, and likewise by this man he sent as tribute the Confucian analects in ten volumes, and the Thousand Character Essay in one volume—altogether eleven volumes. Again he sent as tribute two artizans,—a smith from Kara named Taku-so, and a weaver from Go named Saiso."

It is almost superfluous to state that the Coreans and their ancient history acknowledge the historical occurrence of none of these humiliating traditions which have been the direct cause of indescribable trouble and ennuï in later ages between these two Eastern Countries. And the difficulty of the situation becomes doubly complicated when we turn to the old Chinese annals and find them also in the remote past claiming over Japan the same sovereign

authority and prerogatives as the latter has over Corea. Mr. Parker in his previously mentioned Paper has given a short summary of the different occasions beginning from A.D. 238 in which Japan performed loyally her tributary duties towards her Chinese Suzerain. On one occasion the language of the epistle brought by the envoy of the Japanese Ruler [A.D. 607] to his Chinese Majesty was extremely displeasing. It ran : "The Son of Heaven from the place where the Sun rises sends a letter enquiring after the welfare of the Son of Heaven of the place where the Sun sets, etc. The Emperor growing very angry said to one of his Ministers : "Do not bring before me again any barbarian lacking in propriety."

It is needless to say that if Japan was a dependent nation subject to China, as these Chinese annals tell us, the invasion of Corea, a tributary principality of the Suzerain Power, could not have been conceived by one, nor allowed to be carried into effect by the other. On the other hand, if we accept the Japanese traditions of the invasion and conquest of the Hermit Kingdom as authentic, we are forced to reject totally the credibility of the Chinese sources of the tradition. However, a rational and reasonable compromise, in my opinion, is not a matter of utter impossibility. The theory which is able to solve the difficulty and reconcile these conflicting historical statements is the following : Buddhism was introduced into China sometime in the early part of our Christian era ; but its progress and promulgation was not attended by any remarkable success until three or four centuries had elapsed. During this long interval zealous itinerant pilgrims and active missionaries from both China and Corea found their way into the Japanese empire and became the primal cause of engendering friendly intercourse between the Courts of the different Rulers ; and as a happy consequence occasional embassies with presents, were exchanged between them, which the Court historian depicted as presents coming from

a vassal. The Court historian, like the poet laureate, is not a very reliable personage in describing the events passing before his eye. The one is apt to exaggerate the beauty and virtues of those whom he has been hired to immortalize by extolling; while the other exaggerates small incidents passing in the limited world, out of all due proportion.

The conquest of Corea by Jingo Kogo and the advent of Wani to teach Court ceremonials even to the present time furnish many nature objects to the intensely patriotic spirit of the Japanese artist. However, even if we rest our credence, or rather credulity, upon the above historical traditions themselves, the art intercourse between the Hermit nation and Japan did not begin till the latter part of the Sixth Century, which is several decades after the introduction of Buddhism into these Islands. First we have Shirafu, who is mentioned in the Nihongi having come to Japan during the reign of the Emperor Yomei A.D. 586. One thing in studying early Japanese art, especially painting, should not be overlooked or ignored, viz. the exercise of extreme caution and reserve in accepting the names and dates of the artists who came from foreign lands to Japan. Still greater caution is needed in believing the genuineness of the works attributed to them by the Japanese connoisseurs. Gonse has spoiled his otherwise excellent book—*L'Art Japonais*—by reproducing a worthless sixteenth century Jizo as the real work of Kanaoka, on the recommendation of Mr. Wakai; while Mr. Anderson's error in reproducing in his grand work, *Pictorial Art of Japan*, an utterly false and useless piece of the great Chodensu, because it has a counterfeit seal, is not less grievous and lamentable than that of the Frenchman. How many of the Corean names left were historical and not imaginary beings is quite hard to ascertain now: the claim of two of them rest upon more historical ground, viz. of Tori Bushi the sculptor, and Doncho the painter. Both of these artists

lived and worked at Nara, or rather that part of Nara which at present is called Horinji. Most of the wood carvings of the extensive Horinji temples are attributed to Tori Bushi, who worked in the identical capacity as Hidari Jingoro at Nikko. Also the famous mural paintings—the only of their kind in Japan—in the main building of the same temple are assigned to the brush of Doncho. However, we have nothing standing behind this tradition to enforce its claims, more than we have behind the one which attributes the creation of Japan to the power of god Izanagi! I myself am strongly inclined to assign these grand mural paintings, which might with credit be compared with any which the old world has left us, to the genius and brush of the immortal Kase-no-Kanaoka. However, here is not the proper place to pause and give my reasons for such an assumption unsupported by traditional history.

The complex question: "Has Japan really derived her ancient religion and art from China through Southern Korea as asserted by all native scholars," has frequently arisen in my mind. If so what convincing evidence do we possess beside some old traditions? In the previous pages of this chapter I stated that the ancient Art of Japan at this early date was purely and solely Indian without any mixture of the Korean or Chinese type and conception of art in it. How was it then that no Mongolian spirit of art which is so unique in its generation and manipulation left abiding impressions and vestiges upon the Japanese mind? I have carefully examined most of the works left from this ancient era in Yamato, but have met nothing, either in painting or sculpture, when the influence of the Mongolian model was predominant. How was it then, that neither Korea nor China have left any of the remnants of their pre-Buddhist art upon the life of the Japanese nation. The second question is how is it that the immediate past-Buddhist

influence is not observable as that of the second era of Japanese art when "Japan was converted into a little China? These are two questions which, in my opinion, have not been hitherto answered with any degree of satisfaction by the historian of ancient Japan or ancient Japanese art.

Before the introduction of the universal Indian religion into China, in the first century of our era, the Chinese historians tell us that painting was not unknown in the Empire, at least, two thousand years before; while the origin of the bronze and other species of metal work ascends still another millenium further up. If the Chinese art civilization possessed such an venerable antiquity, assuredly it would have greatly beneficially affected—notwithstanding the Chinaman's insular disposition—the character and life of the surrounding nations and countries, amongst which Japan must have been one. There is nothing so sympathetic in its advancement and diffusion as the forward march of culture and civilization of a nation. Like that cosmic power known as gravitation it attracts every objective phenomenon towards itself. The ancient Greeks were a stubbornly exclusive nation, still their civilization and culture beneficially affected not only their immediate neighbours, but in some cases their distant rivals and enemies also. The case of Rome and its civilization need no commentary. Why, then, I often ask myself, did not China also act as a civilizing medium, like Rome or Greece, or even Assyria, to wards her immediate neighbours as yet in a state of childhood, as we find her later on doing for the whole world? I can answer this crucial question in one way only, namely; Chinese civilization does not really possess that venerable antiquity which both native and Western historians claim for it; but it began with the introduction of Buddhism and grew *pari passu* with it, hence it is Indian in origin, just like that of Japan, and not native. Of course I do not advance the

theory, or make the dogmatic statement that when Buddhism entered the Middle Kingdom, it found it in the same rudimentary stage of civilization as when it entered Japan for the first time several centuries afterward. The very geographical situation of China would have afforded her many precious opportunities and advantages which Japan, on account of her insulation, could not have possessed. China for ages had had Persia and India very near, and I must say also, very peaceful neighbours. These two great Asiatic empires which the Aryan race founded many centuries before the birth of Buddha were real emporiums of culture, knowledge, and religious enlightenment and elevation. Intercourse by means of the caravan and others means *per se* must have greatly affected Chinese life and thought, cemented the different predatory tribes together, organized their political existence, and from a heterogeneous mass created a unique organism. Notwithstanding this, my own researches into the early history of Chinese Art, although very meagre and utterly insufficient, have led me to the conclusion that the real beginning of every branch of Chinese art—keramic, glyptic and plastic—is several centuries after, and not before, our Christian era. I utterly refuse to ascribe to Chinese civilization the same venerable antiquity, the same grandeur of magnitude which every student is forced to attribute to the ruins of the ancient Aryo-Semitic nations. They excite our emotions as well as our admiration. China, like Japan, has no ruins. “Il n'existe pas,” says M. Paléologue, “dans tout l'Empire du Milieu de monument antérieur au XI^e siècle de notre ère : les voyageurs et missionnaires qui ont parcouru toutes les provinces de l'intérieur sont unanimes sur ce point : il n'y a pas de ruines en Chine.” It then, “China has no ruins” like those of Mesopotamia and the Valley of the Nile which compel us to believe in their once having been the cradles and centres of great ideas and civilization

causing enlightenment and elevation of the human race, what authentic credentials can the Chinese historian produce to convince the sceptically inclined mind, and prove that twenty-seven centuries before Christ the work of moulding and chiselling bronze had reached a very high degree of artistic perfection? However, I shall leave this point here, and come to our second question with which we are more concerned; namely, why the total absence of any Chinese or Corean marks upon the early Buddhist school of art in Japan? This question can be answered in these two ways; either because the Chinese did not really possess any spontaneous art, the product of the native soil, as the Chinese records claim, or because the Japanese did not get their art through the medium of Corea and China but received it directly from the Indian peninsula. In regard to the first answer I have already stated my brief reasons why I do not believe the fabulous antiquity ascribed to Chinese art and civilization. I have deeply fixed notions that before the introduction of Buddhism the Celestial Empire was in a very low stage of rudimentary evolution. The religion of Sakya Muni infused a new life in the veins of the nation and implanted new ideals—vaster than anything it had ever seen—in its spirit. Inspired with this new enthusiasm and renewed life the Chinese monk and pilgrim for the first time scaled the eternal walls and became full citizens of a greater world, and of a higher and more spiritual Kingdom. Indian art with its transcendent regions opened to him an infinite universe of which he had never dreamed all his life. The abysmal depths of Buddhist literature dazed his simple and unsophisticated understanding. The old ideas, thoughts, and impressions, had entirely vanished away, and their place was occupied by the infinite worlds and numberless cycles which the happy devotee would ever pass through rising to the eternal realms of life and light till reaching the

consummation of all happiness the everlasting right of the ever-blessed Nirvana. If such a transcendently sublime dream of future existence beguiled such a savant miser (who is the miser who wasn't a philosopher ?) like Arthur Schopenhauer to forget completely the antenatal ideas which had moulded his life-thought, is it any wonder then that these simple-hearted priests dazzled and dazed by the gorgeous reality and sublime ideality of this grand religion forgot their original surroundings and the impressions produced upon their superficial minds ?

In the second place we have, I think, convincing and conclusive proof that after the preaching and promulgation of Buddhism by the Corean and Chinese priests in Japan, and after their labours were crowned a little with success, many private individuals, and perhaps embassies also, from time to time went to India and brought with them as mementoes of their long journey, not only Buddhist suttas written upon palm leaves, but many other objects of art :—paintings, wood, and bronze statues and statuettes. The indefatigable industry of that veteran savant, Max Muller, has succeeded in having the palm leaf Suttas in the temple of Horiuji in the province of Yamato collated, published, and translated partly into English. From many old books and MSS still extant in Japan it is apparent that the study of Pali had for a period become quite extensive amongst the Buddhist hierarchy of the empire.

The existence, in Japan, of so many living objects, of religion, language and art, all of them purely Indian, has led me to the conclusion that the intercourse between these two empires was immediate and not through any intermediary channel.

Again, we have some negative evidence to strengthen this theory. During the second period of Japanese art, from Sesshu down to the establishment of the Tokugawa Government, when purely and exclusively Chinese ideals

were predominant, we find for the first time in its history Japanese Buddhism intermixed with the native Mongolian religions. For the first time we see the admission into the Buddhist pantheons of many of the Chinese and Japanese gods and demi-gods; the most conspicuous of which are the Seven-gods-of-fortune. It is during the latter part of this epoch that attempt is made to a syncretism of religions by reconciling Buddhism Confucianism and Taoism together; and the picture of Buddha, Confucius, and Laotszé, consulting together, becomes the common theme for the Japanese painter. During this whole epoch, also in the succeeding one, no one is capable of desecrating any latent or patent force of Indian thought upon the art life of Japan. The stream of intercourse whose wealthy fluid in the previous epoch had so abundantly watered Japanese genius and brought it into that wonderful fruition is absolutely dried up during this period. The religion of Buddha with its tenets and dogmas becomes incomprehensible, and its very existence in comparison with living Confucianism is like the contrast of a skeleton with a living and active person. The Japanese artist no longer goes to India for his model and inspiration, but to China. It is the great Era of the supremacy of Mongolian taste and art in the Eastern Asia. It is the great epoch of the quickening of the Mongolian spirit and intellect. After this China and Japan, united together, stand as the sole representatives of a new order of life, a new form of art, and a new form of ethical and religious life, that is, the beauty of a calm and severe life where prosperity and longevity combined with fecundity and filial piety adorn our earthly existence and convert this terrestrial sphere into a celestial abode. In discovering this form of practical and utilitarian philosophy, and in the realization of its latent ideas in the manifold branches of art, and their applicability to our modes of daily life, the great Mongolian race has created a new epoch in the history

of our world, expanded the sphere of our practical knowledge, enriched the treasure of our aesthetic faculty, and achieved what the Semitic and Aryan had failed to perceive clearly.

If Buddhist religion and art came to Japan through civilized China and Corea it is but fair to think that something sublime of the old type of thought and life would have remained. But so far the art historian has not succeeded in finding anything. Why had not the Confucian ethics moulded the Japanese ideas of filial piety long before the advent of the new Hindoo religion, if the Chinese classics had found their way to Japan centuries before the introduction of the cultus of the Nirvana? If Confucianism was what it has been during the latter centuries, *i.e.* the religion of the learned and wealthy, would it not have disputed both in its native land and in Japan the territory in which Buddhism was trying to obtain foot-hold? Of such things we see nothing in the early history of civilization and art in Japan. The first stadium of progress, which is under our consideration now, is purely Hindoo: Hindoo in thought, and Hindoo in action. Hence this Hindoo purism in Japan we are compelled to attribute either to the direct influence of India through another route than that of the accepted tradition, *i.e.* China and Corea, or to the post-Buddhist origin of Chinese civilization. I am strongly inclined to attribute it to both.

11

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

MINUTES OF MEETINGS.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society was held at the Parish Buildings, Tsukiji, Tokyo, on Wednesday, March 17th, at 4 p.m. Dr. Divers occupied the chair.

After the preliminary business had been transacted the Chairman called on the Rev. Isaac Dooman to read his paper on the Origin of the Japanese Race.

Of this paper the following is a short abstract :—

Mr. Dooman began by observing that from the very dawn of history down to the present day two distinct races and peoples had inhabited Japan. One of the two represented the most active, progressive and lively impulses of human nature; the other the most passive and dormant. But these two races so opposite to each other in mental characteristics possessed striking facial resemblances, and to some extent also linguistic kinship, so that many European scholars who had investigated the subject had come to the conclusion that they both belonged to the same social family. Dr. Rein summarizing the opinions of German scholars had said :—“ The Ainos are Mongolians who differ less perhaps from the Japanese than the Germans from the Roumanians, though the straight eyes, and firm features, and above all the strong growth of the beard among the men lends to them a certain likeness to Europeans. This is only apparent, and disappears on a nearer examination.” To this the writer would reply that there was more resemblance between the Semitic Jew and Aryan German than there was between Ainos and Japanese. The differences between the Semitic and Aryan races, if properly studied, would be found to be mainly the differences of the stages of existence

through which each had passed, and nothing more. There was a much greater difference between Ainos and Japanese.

The writer proceeded to say that excluding the Semitic and Aryan races the continent of Asia contained two great centres inhabited by two quite distinct races. These two centres were the territories lying to the North of the Himalayas and the territories lying to the South. The people inhabiting the former had gradually developed into powerful nations who had played a conspicuous part in the world's history. The people in the latter on the other hand possessed no aptitude for progress. In his opinion the Ainos belonged to the South Himalayan race, and must have migrated to Japan in a pre-historic age, while it was not difficult to identify the Japanese with the North Himalayan nations.

Dr. Divers, after thanking the reader for an interesting contribution, invited those present to offer remarks upon it.

Sir E. Satow said he had not had the advantage of hearing the earlier portion of Mr. Dooman's paper, having come in late, but he gathered that he based his theory of the origin of the Japanese race upon what might be called mental characteristics, philological grounds, and probably also upon physical comparisons. On the last of these he did not feel competent to speak, as it seemed to be within the exclusive province of the biologist. With regard to mental characteristics, he thought it would be found that there was not such a complete uniformity amongst Japanese in different parts of the country as to warrant the assumption that they were a homogeneous race. The test of language seemed to him apt to prove fallacious. It by no means followed that all the populations speaking the same tongue were sprung from one stock. The French, Italians, Spaniards and Portuguese spoke languages which were all derived from the Latin, but no one would maintain that they were identical in origin. For instance, the descendants of the Franks had completely lost the Germanic speech of their forefathers. There was a fourth line of investigation to which he thought attention should be directed, namely national traditions. As Mr. Chamberlain had shown, chiefly from evidence of place names, the race of which the Ainos were the surviving remnants had at one time been spread over the whole of Japan, even as far as the south of Kiushiu, and had been gradually driven northwards till they were finally expelled. The process in fact had gone on down to historical times, when the greater part of the main island north of Tokyo was peopled by the same race. In the wars that

took place the men were killed, and the women probably appropriated by the conquerors, so that a substratum of Aino must be assumed. The first invaders of Japan settled according to tradition in Idzumo. They probably were a more or less civilized race, acquainted with agriculture and some of the other arts of life. After a while they were followed by other invaders coming from the south, who landed in Kiushiu, and being of a more warlike character than the previous inhabitants gradually conquered them, and overran the whole country. He was disposed thus to consider the present Japanese nation to be formed out of at least three main elements. Supposing, however, for the sake of argument, that the linguistic test was the only valid one, he would suggest that the first step was to compare the Japanese language with its nearest neighbour. He regretted that his ignorance of Turkish did not enable him to discuss the points of resemblance between it and Japanese which had been mentioned by Mr. Dooman. But it had been shown by Mr. Aston that there was a close connection between Japanese and Korean. Firstly, there was the resemblance, which might be termed physiological, between the conjugation of the verb in both languages. Then there was the interesting fact that the adjective in Korean is conjugated as a verb, which was also the case to a large extent in Japanese. There was also the use of particles in both languages. A cursory examination of the vocabulary by the aid of a dictionary did not at first sight seem to give much result, but it must be remembered that in comparing two cognate languages it was often found that a particular word had in the course of time come to have considerable divergent uses. Such must be familiar to every student of languages, and there were many instances of the kind that would be re-called by any one acquainted with both English and German. But the fact remained that there were a good many words in Korean and Japanese which were identical in meaning. It would be observed, however, that in Korean the substantives generally ended in a consonant, whereas in Japanese they terminate in a vowel, the modern Japanese finding it almost impossible to pronounce a final consonant. He suggested in explanation of this fact that the second race of invaders were a warlike but less civilized people than those who had learnt the language of the latter, pronouncing it, however, in accordance with their own habits of enunciation. Such cases were not infrequent: for instance, the Manch'u conquerors of China had learnt the Chinese language, but pronounced it in their own fashion, thus giving rise to the present Pekingese dialect. Welsh

pronunciation of English, and Alsatian French were similar instances. As illustrations he would mention the Korean *Kom*, bear, Japanese *Kuma*, Korean *mul*, water, Japanese *midzu*. Many others might be cited. It was generally admitted that Korean, Japanese, Manchu and Mongol belonged to the same group, that of the so-called Turanian languages. An interesting observation had been made by Mr. Aston that there was a certain physiological similarity between this group and another set of languages, the Dravidian spoken in Southern India. This had suggested to him that the corresponding races had at one time inhabited the region stretching from India to Korea round China, and that their intercourse had been severed by the Aryan invasion of India descending from the north-west and parting them after the manner of a wedge. But this side of the question still awaited fuller investigation. To sum up then, he thought tradition pointed to a conquest of Japan from the side of Korea, by a population settling in Idzumo and speaking a language allied to Korean. That these were followed by a race of warriors coming from the south and landing in Hiuga, it might be Malay, or perhaps a branch of that warlike and intelligent race of which a branch survived in New Zealand, speaking originally a language rich in vowel terminations, who conquered the less warlike but more civilised inhabitants they found in possession, and adopted their language with modifications peculiar to themselves. He did not know what value there might be in this theory, but he begged to be allowed to offer it for Mr. Doorman's consideration.

Mr. Doorman, in reply, said that he was much interested in what he had heard. The great difficulty he had found was in getting any scientific works on this subject, or any well developed theories from students of ethnology. The criticism made by Sir Ernest Satow would have great value for him and others in throwing additional light on this obscure topic.

The Chairman stated that at the last meeting a series of resolutions had been read making certain changes in the constitution. If there were no dissenting opinions he would declare these resolutions carried. As there was no opposition, the Chairman stated that they were carried, after which the meeting adjourned.

A meeting of the Asiatic Society was held at the Parish Buildings Tsukiji, Tokyo, on Wednesday, June 9th at 4 p.m. The Rev. T. S. Tyng occupied the Chair.

After the preliminary business of the Society had been transacted the Chairman called upon the Rev. Isaac Dooman to read his paper on the Beginnings of Japanese History, Civilization and Art.

Mr. Dooman stated that in a previous paper read before the Society he had endeavoured to trace the origin of the Japanese to that North Himalayan family of mankind commonly called Altaic or Mongolian; a race which had displayed great aptitude in developing some innate germs of a self-expansion and civilization, and which was gradually coming to dispute the mastery of the world with the aggressive Aryan. In the present paper his object was to give a succinct sketch of the early history and civilization of the nation till the period of authentic documentary data, which can not be earlier than the 6th century of our era, the universally accepted date of the introduction of Buddhism into Japan.

In the discussion which followed the reading of the paper the Chairman, Mr. Lloyd, and others took part. The meeting adjourned at 5.30 p.m.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The Annual Meeting of the Asiatic Society was held at the Parish Buildings, Tsukiji, Tokyo, on Wednesday, December 8th, 1897, at 3 p.m.

The President, Sir Ernest M. Satow, occupied the Chair. The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved. The President called upon the Corresponding Secretary to read his annual report. It was as follows:—

“The year just coming to a close has been a most uneventful one in the history of the Asiatic Society. Owing to the fact apparently that other interests occupy the attention of the members

the number of papers read has been unusually small. At present there is in process of publication a work on the Flora of Formosa. This will form a supplementary volume to the transactions. In addition there were two papers read before the Society in the past year.

"Ten new names have been added to the list of members during the session. The Council has to report the death of two honorary members, Sir Wollaston Frauks and Sir Rutherford Alcock. It has also to record the death of a former resident member of Tokyo, the Right Rev. Bishop Bickersteth and a member in Kyoto, Mr. E. B. Lambert. M. Antelnio Severini, the distinguished Orientalist, was made an honorary member during the year.

"The Finances of the Society continue to remain in a satisfactory condition. The treasurer reports a balance of 1,940 yen to the credit of the Society. In the various appendices published in the next volume of transactions will be found the list of exchanges, the stock in hand, the annual balance sheet and other matters of interest.

"The work of arranging the Library and of opening it for the benefit of the members of the Society has not made as much progress as was expected. The delay is due to a variety of causes: the pamphlets were found to be in a state of great confusion, the assistants have been irregular in attendance, partly on account of sickness, three different assistants have been at work during the year, so that some of the labor had to be repeated and the Librarian himself has been on the sick list for several months. It is now hoped that the work will be soon completed, but no definite time for finishing it can be assigned."

The motion was made and carried that the annual report be accepted as read.

The meeting then proceeded to the election of officers for the ensuing year. The result of the voting was as follows:—

President—Sir Ernest M. Satow, K.C.M.G.

Vice-Presidents—Garrett Drovers, Esq. (Tokyo), and James Troup, Esq.

Corresponding Secretary—J. H. Gubbins, Esq.

Recording Secretaries—J. H. Gubbins, Esq. (Tokyo), and W. J. S. Shand, Esq. (Yokohama).

Treasurer—J. McD. Gardiner, Esq.

Librarian—E. W. Clement, Esq.

Councillors—B. H. Chamberlain, Esq., W. B. Mason, Esq., Clay MacCauley, Esq., A. B. Lay, Esq., R. S. Miller, Esq., R. Masujima, Esq., Dr. E. Divers, Rev. W. J. White, Rev. A. Lloyd, and M. Michel Revon.

After some further discussion and debate the meeting adjourned.

ERNEST SATOW,

Chairman.

APPENDIX A.

List of Papers during the Session of 1897.

“Origin of the Japanese Race.”

“Beginnings of Japanese History Civilization and Art.”

By the REV. ISAAC DOOMAN.

APPENDIX B.

THE HON. TREASURER IN ACCOUNT WITH THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF
JAPAN FOR THE YEAR 1897.

DR.

| | YEN. |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|
| To Balance from Last Year | 2,144.645 |
| “ Entrance Fees | 20.000 |
| “ Annual Subscriptions | 63.100 |
| “ Sale of Transactions | 308.930 |
| Librarian | 278.510 |
| Treasurer | 26.300 |
| Lemcke & Buechner (N. Y.) | 4.120 |
| “ Interest | 43.378 |
| Total | 2,580.053 |

CR.

| | YEN. |
|---|-----------|
| By Messrs. Meiklejohn & Co. for Printing.. .. . | 376.910 |
| “ Cash for Stationery, Postage etc. | 37.750 |
| “ “ “ Library Expenses | 44.260 |
| “ “ “ Rent, No. 54, Tsukiji, one-year | 100.000 |
| “ Insurance | 75.000 |
| “ Cash to Caretaker | 6.000 |
| “ Balance, M. B. G. K. Special.. .. . | 1,539.220 |
| “ Cur. Act. | 397.410 |
| H. K. & S. B. | 3.500 |
| Total | 2,580.050 |

E. & O. E.

J. McD. GARDINER,

Hon. Treasurer.

Examined and Compared with Vouchers and found correct.

W. JNO. WHITE.

ERNEST W. CLEMENT.

Auditors.

Dec. 8th, 1897.

APPENDIX C.

LIST OF EXCHANGES OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

- Academy of Sciences, Lincoln Park, Chicago.
 American Geographical Society, New York.
 " Oriental Society, New Haven, Conn.
 " Philological Society, Boston, Mass.
 " Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, London.
 Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien, Austria.
 Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
 Australian Association for the Advancement of Science, The University, Sydney.
 Bataviasch Genootschap, Batavia, Java.
 Buddhist Text Society, Calcutta.
 Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, D.C.
 Bureau of Education, " "
 Canadian Institute, Toronto.
 China Review, Hongkong.
 Chinese Recorder, Shanghai.
 Cosmos de Guido Corn, Torino, Italy.
 Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Tokyo.
 Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig, Germany.
 Geological and Natural History Survey of Canada, Ottawa, Canada.
 Harvard University, Museum of Comparative Zoölogy, Cambridge, Mass.
 Imperial Russian Geographical Society, St. Petersburg.
 Imperial University of Japan, Tokyo.
 Japan Society, London.
 Japan Weekly Mail, Yokohama.
 Johns Hopkins University Publications, Baltimore, Md.
 Journal Asiatique, Paris.
 Musée Guimet, Lyons.
 Pekin Oriental Society, Pekin.
 Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, London.
 " " " , Bombay Branch, Bombay.
 " " " , Ceylon Branch, Colombo.
 " " " , China Branch, Shanghai.
 " " " , Straits Branch, Singapore.
 Royal Dublin Society, Kildare St., Dublin.

Royal Geographical Society, London.

Royal Society, London.

“ “ of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Scotland.

“ “ , Sydney, New South Wales.

“ “ , Adelaide, South Australia.

Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D. C.

Sociedad Geografica de Madrid, Madrid, Spain.

Sociedad de Geographia de Lisbon, Lisbon, Portugal.

Société d'Anthropologie, Paris.

Société de Géographie, Paris.

State Historical Society, Madison, Wis., U. S. A.

United States Geological Survey, Washington, D.C.

“ “ Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C

Vereins für Erdkunde zu Leipzig.

APPENDIX D.

TRANSACTIONS IN STOCK.

December 1, 1897.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------|-------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|
| Vol. I | single part | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 107 |
| “ II | single part | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 88 |
| “ III | Part 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 147 |
| “ “ | “ 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 198 |
| “ “ | Appendix | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 81 |
| “ IV | single part | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 199 |
| Vol. V | part 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 197 |
| “ “ | “ 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 211 |
| “ VI | “ 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 199 |
| “ “ | “ 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 234 |
| “ “ | “ 3 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 240 |
| “ VII | “ 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 228 |

ANNUAL MEETING.

XV

| | | | |
|-----------------------|---|---------|-----|
| Vol. VII part 2 | 2 | .. .. . | 230 |
| " " " 3 | 3 | .. .. . | 256 |
| " " " 4 | 4 | .. .. . | 244 |
| " VIII " 1 | 1 | .. .. . | 39 |
| " " " 2 | 2 | .. .. . | 53 |
| " " " 3 | 3 | .. .. . | 49 |
| " " " 4 | 4 | .. .. . | 61 |
| " IX " 1 | 1 | .. .. . | 57 |
| " " " 2 | 2 | .. .. . | 80 |
| " " " 3 | 3 | .. .. . | 73 |
| " X " 1 | 1 | .. .. . | 68 |
| " " " 2 | 2 | .. .. . | 78 |
| " " Supplement |  | .. .. . | 177 |
| " XI Part 1 | 1 | .. .. . | 98 |
| " " " 2 | 2 | .. .. . | 74 |
| " XII " 1 | 1 | .. .. . | 276 |
| " " " 2 | 2 | .. .. . | 109 |
| " " " 3 | 3 | .. .. . | 103 |
| " " " 4 | 4 | .. .. . | 50 |
| " XIII " 1 | 1 | .. .. . | 79 |
| " " " 2 | 2 | .. .. . | 117 |
| " XIV " 1 | 1 | .. .. . | 79 |
| " " " 2 | 2 | .. .. . | 107 |
| " XV " 1 | 1 | .. .. . | 91 |
| " " " 2 | 2 | .. .. . | 109 |
| Vol. XVI part 1 | 1 | .. .. . | 155 |
| " " " 2 | 2 | .. .. . | 116 |
| " " " 3 | 3 | .. .. . | 187 |
| " XVII " 1 | 1 | .. .. . | 179 |
| " " " 2 | 2 | .. .. . | 82 |
| " XVIII " 1 | 1 | .. .. . | 167 |
| " " " 2 | 2 | .. .. . | 222 |
| " XIX " 1 | 1 | .. .. . | 240 |
| " " " 2 | 2 | .. .. . | 216 |
| " " " 3 | 3 | .. .. . | 242 |
| " XX " 1 | 1 | .. .. . | 128 |
| " " " 2 | 2 | .. .. . | 246 |
| " " Supplement part 1 | 1 | .. .. . | 256 |
| " " " " 2 | 2 | .. .. . | 260 |
| " " " " 3 | 3 | .. .. . | 279 |
| " " " " 5 | 5 | .. .. . | 292 |
| " XXI single part |  | .. .. . | 248 |

| | | |
|------------------|---------------|-------|
| Vol. XXII part 1 | .. .. . | 257 |
| " " " 2 | .. .. . | 235 |
| " " " 3 | .. .. . | 266 |
| " XXIII | .. .. . | 297 |
| " " Supplement | .. .. . | 314 |
| " XXIV | .. .. . | 174 |
| | | <hr/> |
| | Total | 9,944 |
| General Index | .. .. . | 1,623 |

APPENDIX E.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS RECEIVED.

Maurice Courant—"Bibliographie Coréenne," Parts 2 and 3.

Varenius—"Description of Japan and Siam."

Buckley—"Shintō Pantheon."

Lange—"Einführung in die Japanische Schript."

"Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennical, Forms, XXI."

"Ofversity of Finska Vetenskaps Societetens Förhandlingar-
'95-'96."

"Ricordo della Sacra Ordinanza tenuta da sua Eccellenza
Reverendissima Mons. Antonio Dott. Veruglio Vescovo di Vicenza."

Nachod, Oskar—"Die Beziehungen der Niederländischer Ostin,
dischen Kompagnie zu Japan im Siebzehnten Jahrhundert."

LIST OF MEMBERS.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

- Arnold, K.C.S.I., Sir Edwin, Daily Telegraph Office, London,
England.
Aston, C.M.G., W. G., The Bluff, Beer, E. Devon, England.
Day, Prof. Geo. E., Yale College, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.
Edkins, D.D., Rev. Joseph, Shanghai.
Hannen, Sir N., H. B. M. Supreme Court, Shanghai.
Hepburn, M.D., LL.D., J. C., 384, William Street, East Orange,
New Jersey, U.S.A.
Nordenskjöld, Baron A., Stockholm, Sweden.
Powell, Major, J. W., Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D. C.,
U. S. A.
Rein, Prof. J. J., Bonn-am-Rhein, Germany.
Satow, K.C.M.G., Sir Ernest M., British Legation, Tōkyō.
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-

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 Wood, Arnold, c/o Wood & Co., Publishers, N. Y. City.

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Terry, H. T., 13, Reinanzaka, Akasaka, Tokyo.
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Tison, A.M., LL.B., A., 66, Broadway, New U.S.A.
Trench, Hon. P. le P., Claremorris Castle, Ballinasloe, Co. Galway.
Trevithick, F. H. Penzance, Cornwall, England.
Troup, James, Shedfield Grange, Botley, Hampshire, England.
Tyng, Rev. T. S., 7, Concession, Osaka.
Van de Polder, L., Netherlands Legation, Tokyo.
Walford, A. B., 10, Yokohama.
Walne, Rev. E. N., Nagasaki.
Walter, W. B., 1, Yokohama.
Walsh, T., Y. U. Club, 5 Bund, Yokohama

Weipert, Dr. H., German Legation, Tokyo.

Weston, Rev. Walter, c/o Rev. C. G. Gardner, Shizuoka.

White, Rev. W. J., 6 Tsukiji, Tokyo.

Wileman, A. E., British Vice Consul, Kobe.

Wilkinson, H. S., H. B. M. Court, Yokohama.

Wood, Prof. F. E., Nara.

Woodd, C. H. B., 11 Sakayecho, Shiba, Tokyo.

Wyckoff, M. N., Meiji Gaku-in, Shirokane, Tokyo.

Cruikshank, W. J., Mourilvan, Heimann & Co., 35, Yokohama.

THE
CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

Revised March, 1897.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

Revised March, 1897.

NAME AND OBJECTS.

- ART. I.** The Name of the Society shall be THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.
- ART. II.** The object of the Society shall be to collect and publish information on subjects relating to Japan and other Asiatic Countries.
- ART. III.** Communications on other subjects may, within the discretion of the Council, be received by the Society, but shall not be published among the Papers forming the Transactions.

MEMBERSHIP.

- ART. IV.** The Society shall consist of Honorary and Ordinary Members.
- ART. V.** Honorary Members shall be admitted upon special grounds, to be determined in each case by the Council. They shall not be resident in Japan, and shall not pay an entrance fee or annual subscription.
- ART. VI.** Ordinary Members shall pay, on their election, an entrance fee of Five *yen* and subscription for the current year. Those resident in Japan shall pay an annual subscription of Five *yen*. Those not resident in Japan shall pay an annual subscription of Three *yen*.
- Any Member elected after June 30th shall not be required to pay the subscription for the year of his

election unless he wishes to receive the Transactions of the past session of the Society.

Ordinary members resident in Japan may become life members :—

- a. On election by paying the entrance fee and the sum of fifty *yen* ;
- b. At any time afterwards within a period of twenty years by paying the sum of fifty *yen*, less *yen* 2.50 for each year of membership ;
- c. After the expiration of twenty years on application to the Treasurer without further payment.

Ordinary members not resident in Japan may become life members :—

- a. On election by paying the entrance fee and the sum of thirty *yen* ;
- b. At any time afterwards within a period of twenty years by paying the sum of thirty *yen*, less *yen* 1.50 for each year of membership ;
- c. After the expiration of twenty years on application to the Treasurer without further payment.

Members hitherto resident in Japan who leave it with the intention of residing permanently abroad shall for the purpose of their subsequent subscriptions, or life-membership, be regarded as members not resident in Japan, provided the Treasurer is notified of their change of residence.

ART. VII. The Annual Subscription shall be payable in advance, on the 1st of January in each year.

Any Member failing to pay his subscription for the current year by the 30th of June shall be reminded of his omission by the Treasurer. If his subscription still remains unpaid on the 31st of December of that year, he shall be considered to have resigned his Membership.

ART. VIII. Every Member shall be entitled to receive the publications of the Society during the period of his Membership.

OFFICERS.

ART. IX. The Officers of the Society shall be :—
 A President.
 Two Vice-Presidents.

A Corresponding Secretary.
Two Recording Secretaries.
A Treasurer.
A Librarian.

COUNCIL.

ART. X. The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Council composed of the Officers for the current year and ten ordinary Members.

MEETINGS.

ART. XI. General Meetings of the Society and Meetings of the Council shall be held as the Council shall have appointed and announced.

ART. XII. The Annual Meeting of the Society shall be held in December, at which the Council shall present its Annual Report and the Treasurer's Statement of Accounts, duly audited by two Members nominated by the President.

ART. XIII. Nine Members shall form a quorum at an Annual Meeting, and Five Members at a Council Meeting. At all Meetings of the Society and Council, in the absence of the President and Vice-President, a Chairman shall be elected by the Meeting. The Chairman shall not have a vote unless there is an equality of votes.

ART. XIV. Visitors (including representatives of the Press) may be admitted to the General Meetings by Members of the Society, but shall not be permitted to address the Meeting except by invitation of the Chairman.

ELECTIONS.

ART. XV. All Members of the Society shall be elected by the Council. They shall be proposed at one Meeting of the Council, and balloted for at the next, one black ball in five to exclude; and their Election shall be announced at the General Meeting following.

ART. XVI. The Officers and other Members of Council shall be elected by ballot at the Annual Meeting, and shall hold office for one year.

ART. XVII. The Council shall fill up all Vacancies in its Membership which occur between Annual Meetings.

PUBLICATIONS.

ART. XVIII. The published Transactions of the Society shall contain :—(1) Such papers and notes read before the Society as the Council shall have selected, and an abstract of the discussion thereon :

(2) The Minutes of the General Meetings ;

(3) And at the end of each annual volume, the Reports and Accounts presented to the last Annual Meeting, the Constitution and By-Laws of the Society and a List of Members.

ART. XIX. Twenty-five separate copies of each published paper shall be placed at the disposal of the author and the same number shall be reserved by the Council to be disposed of as it sees fit.

ART. XX. The Council shall have power to distribute copies of the Transactions at its discretion.

ART. XXI. The Council shall have power to publish, in separate form, papers or documents which it considers of sufficient interest or importance.

ART. XXII. Papers accepted by the Council shall become the property of the Society and cannot be published anywhere without consent of the Council.

Acceptance of a paper for reading at a General Meeting of the Society does not bind the Society to its publication afterwards. But when the Council has decided not to publish any paper accepted for reading, that paper shall be restored to the author without any restriction as to its further use.

MAKING OF BY-LAWS.

ART. XXIII. The Council shall have power to make and amend By-Laws for its own and the Society's guidance provided that these are not inconsistent with the Constitution ; and a General Meeting, by a Majority vote, may suspend the operation of any By-Law.

AMENDMENTS.

ART. XXIV. None of the foregoing Articles of the Constitution can be amended except at a General Meeting by a vote of two-thirds of the Members present, and only if due notice of the proposed Amendment shall have been given at a previous General Meeting.

BY-LAWS.

GENERAL MEETINGS.

- ART. I.** The Session of the Society shall coincide with the Calendar Year, the Annual Meeting taking place in December.
- ART. II.** Ordinarily the Session shall consist of nine monthly General Meetings ; but it may include a less or greater number when the Council finds reason for such a change.
- ART. III.** The place and time of Meeting shall be fixed by the Council, preference being given when the Meeting is held in Tōkyō, to 4 p.m. on the Second Wednesday of each month. The place of meeting may be in Yokohama when the occasion is favourable.
- ART. IV.** Timely notice of every General Meeting shall be sent by post to the address of every Member resident in Tokyo or Yokohama.

ORDER OF BUSINESS AT GENERAL MEETINGS.

- ART. V.** The Order of Business at General Meetings shall be ;—
- (1) Action on the Minutes of the last Meeting ;
 - (2) Communications from the Council ;
 - (3) Miscellaneous Business ;
 - (4) The Reading and Discussion of papers.
- The above order shall be observed except when the Chairman shall rule otherwise.
- At Annual Meetings the Order of Business shall include, in addition to the foregoing matters :—
- (5) The Reading of the Council's Annual Report and Treasurer's account, and submission of these for the action of the Meeting upon them ;

(6) The Election of Officers and Council as directed by Article XVI. of the Constitution.

MEETINGS OF COUNCIL.

- ART. VI. The Council shall appoint its own Meetings, perference as to time being given to 4. P. M. on the First Wednesday of each month.
- ART. VII. Timely notice of every Council Meeting shall be sent by post to the address of every Member of the Council, and shall contain a statement of any extraordinary business to be done.

ORDER OF BUSINESS AT COUNCIL MEETINGS.

- ART. VIII. The Order of Business at Council Meetings shall be :
- (1) Action upon the Minutes of last Meeting ;
 - (2) *Reports* of the Corresponding Secretary,
of the Publication Committee,
of the Treasurer,
of the Librarian,
and of Special Committees ;
 - (3) The Election of Members ;
 - (4) The Nomination of Candidates for Membership of the Society ;
 - (5) Miscellaneous Business ;
 - (6) Acceptance of papers to be read before the Society ;
 - (7) Arrangement of the Business of the next General Meeting.

PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

- ART. IX. There shall be a Standing Committee entitled the Publication Committee and composed of the Secretaries, the Librarian, and any Members appointed by the Council. It shall ordinarily be presided over by the Corresponding Secretary.

It shall carry through the publication of the Transactions of the Society, and the re-issue of Parts out of print.

It shall report periodically to the Council and act under its authority.

It shall audit the accounts for printing the Transactions.

It shall not allow authors' manuscripts or printer's proofs of these to go out of its custody for other than the Society's purposes.

DUTIES OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

ART. X. The Corresponding Secretary shall:—

1. Conduct the Correspondence of the Society;
2. Arrange for and issue notice of Council Meetings, and provide that all official business be brought duly and in order before each Meeting;
3. Attend every Council Meeting or give notice to the Recording Secretary that he will be absent;
4. Notify new officers and Members of Council of their appointment and send them each a copy of the By-laws;
5. Notify new Members of the Society of their election and send them copies of the Articles of Constitution and of the Library Catalogue;
6. Unite with the Recording Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian in drafting the Annual Report of the Council and in preparing for publication all matter as defined in Article XVIII. of the Constitution.
7. Act as Chairman of the Publication Committee, and take first charge of authors' manuscripts and proofs struck off for use at Meetings.

RECORDING SECRETARIES.

ART. XI. Of the Recording Secretaries, one shall reside in Tōkyō and one in Yokohama, each having ordinarily duties only in connection with Meetings of the Society or its Council held in the place where he resides.

DUTIES OF RECORDING SECRETARY.

ART. XII. The Recording Secretary shall :—

1. Keep Minutes of General Meetings ;
2. Make arrangements for General Meetings as instructed by the Council, and notify Members resident in Tōkyū and Yokohama ;
3. Inform the Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer of the election of new Members.
4. Attend every General Meeting of Council, or, in case of absence, depute the Corresponding Secretary or some other Member of Council to perform his duties and forward to him the Minute Book ;
5. Act for the Corresponding Secretary in the latter's absence ;
6. Act on the publication Committee ;
7. Assist in drafting the Annual Report of the Council and in preparing for publication the Minutes of the General Meeting and the Constitution and By-laws of the Society ;
8. Furnish abstracts of Proceedings at General Meetings to newspapers and public prints as directed by the Council.

DUTIES OF TREASURER.

ART. XIII. The Treasurer shall :—

1. Take charge of the Society's Funds in accordance with the instruction of the Council.
2. Apply to the President to appoint Auditors, and present the Annual Balance sheet to the Council duly audited before the date of the Annual Meeting ;
3. Attend every Council Meeting and report when requested upon the money affairs of the Society, or in case of absence depute some Member of the Council to act for him, furnishing him with such information and documents as may be necessary ;
4. Notify new members of the amount of entrance fee and subscription then due ;

5. Collect subscriptions and notify Members of their unpaid subscriptions once in or about January and again in or about June ; apply to Agents for the sale of the Society's Transactions in Japan and abroad for payment of sums owing to the Society ;
6. Pay out all Monies for the Society under the direction of the Council, making no single payment in excess of Ten Dollars without special vote of the Council.
7. Inform the Librarian when a new Member has paid his entrance fee and first subscription ;
8. Submit to the Council at its January Meeting the names of Members who have not paid their subscription for the past year ; and, after action has been taken by the Council, furnish the Librarian with the names of any Members to whom the sending of the Transactions is to be suspended or stopped.
9. Prepare for publication the List of Members of the Society.

DUTIES OF LIBRARIAN.

XIV.

The Librarian shall :—

1. Take charge of the Society's Library and stock of Transactions, keep its books and periodicals in order, catalogue all additions to the Library, and superintend the binding and preservation of the books ;
2. Carry out the Regulations of the Council for the use and lending of the Society's books ;
3. Send copies of the Transactions to all Honorary Members, to all Ordinary Members not in arrears for dues according to the list furnished by the Treasurer, and to all Societies and Journals, the names of which are on the list of Exchanges ;
5. Arrange with Booksellers and others for the sale of the Transactions as directed by the Council, and the required number of each issue to the appointed agents and keep a record of all such business ;
5. Arrange under direction of the Council, new Exchange of the Transactions with Societies and Journals ;

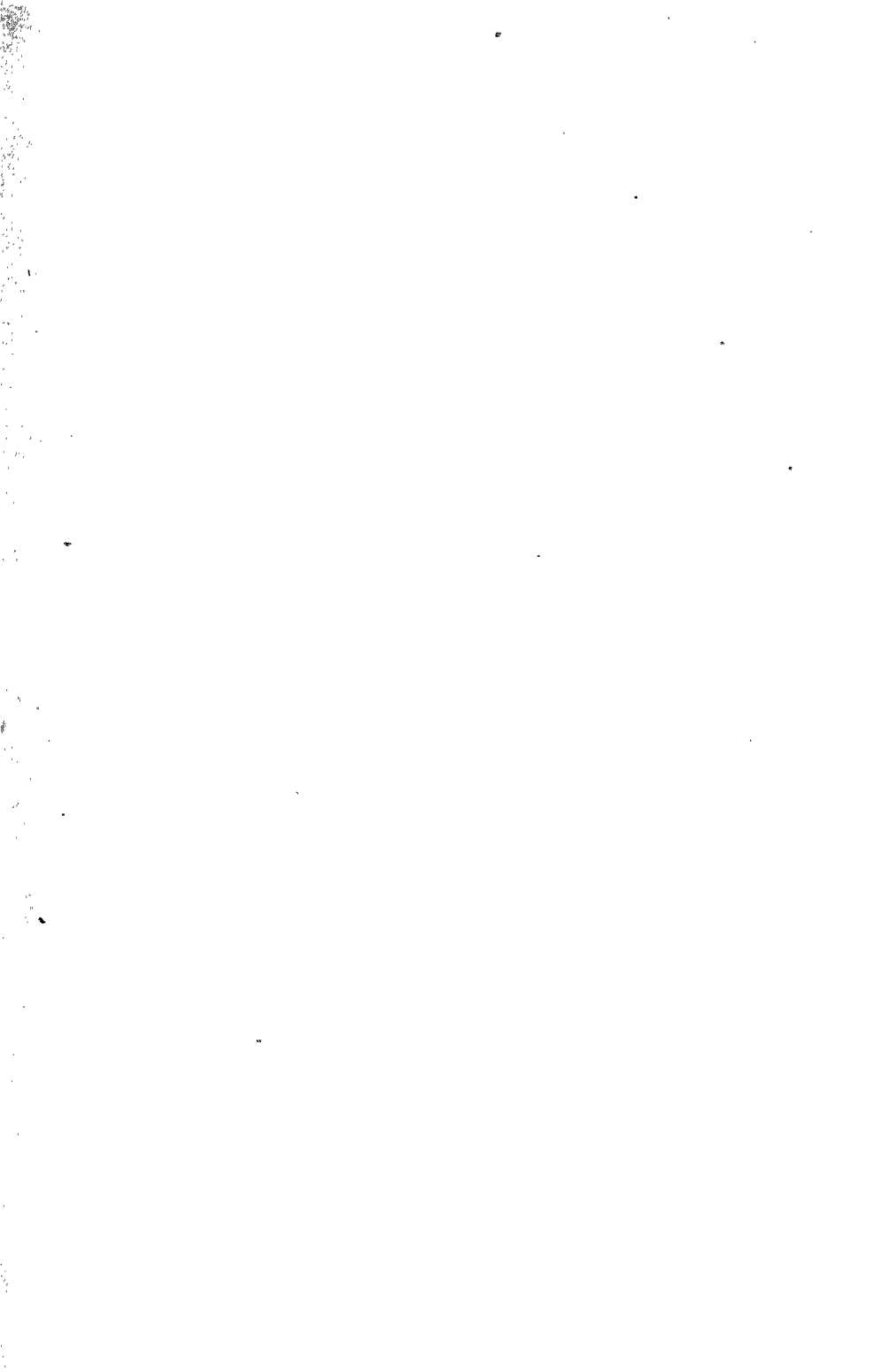
6. Draw up List of Exchanges of Journals and of additions to the Library for insertion in the Council's Annual Report;
7. Make additions to the Library as instructed by the Council;
8. Present to the Council at its November Meeting a statement of the stock of Transactions possessed by the Society;
9. Act on the Publication Committee;
10. Attend every Council Meeting and report on Library matters, or if absent, send to the Corresponding Secretary a statement of any matter of immediate importance.

LIBRARY AND MEETING ROOM.

- ART. XV. The Society's Rooms and Library shall be in Tsukiji, Tokyo, to which may be addressed all letters and parcels not sent to the private address of the Corresponding Secretary, Treasurer, or Librarian.
- ART. XVI. The Library shall be open to Members for consultation during the day, the keys of the book cases being in the possession of the Librarian or other Member of Council resident in the neighbourhood: and books may be borrowed on applying to the Librarian.

SALE OF TRANSACTIONS.

- ART. XVII. A Member may obtain at half-price for his own use copies of any Part of Transactions.
- ART. XVIII. The Transactions shall be on sale by Agents approved of by the Council and shall be supplied to these Agents at a discount price fixed by the Council.



N.C.
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"A book that is shut is but a block"

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